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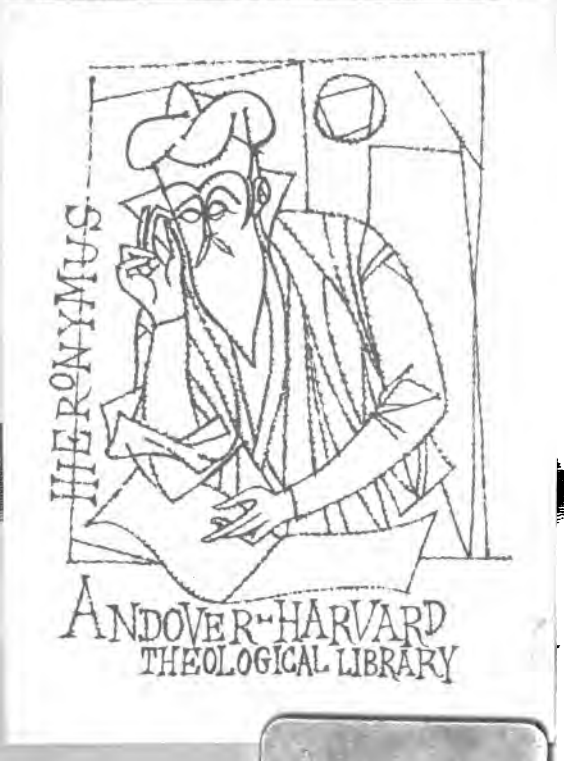
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THE

DEATH AND RESURRECTION

OF

JESUS CHRIST

BY

EDMOND STAPFER

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OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

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PREFACE

THIS volume concludes the series of essays which I have consecrated to the Life of Jesus, or, rather, to the study of his *person*, his *authority*, and his *work*.

My first book, short as it was ("Jesus Christ before his Ministry"), covered a period of thirty years. The second ("Jesus Christ during his Ministry") included only about two years. Barely six months now remain for me to describe, or rather a single week, the last, for the story of the other events requires only a few pages; and it would be easy to write large volumes, entire libraries, upon the events which crowded this last week.

What do I say? — easy to write? These libraries already exist, and no literature in the world equals in volume the bibliography of the last days, and especially of

the last twenty-four hours, of the life of Jesus. One may say that each of the minutes which one by one passed away, from the beginning of the evening of Thursday, the 13th or 14th Nisan, to the hour of sunset on the Friday following, has counted for more than centuries in the history of humanity.

I said in the introduction to my second volume, that of the three periods in the ministry of Jesus Christ the first is shrouded in obscurity, the second is better known, the third is thoroughly well known and stands in full light. This is the period which I have now to pass in review. Everything in it is clear, evident, luminous, and critics are in general accord as to the facts related in the Gospels. But this can be said only in a general way. When we come to details we find variations in the authentic documents. It suffices to glance over a synopsis giving a comparative text of the Gospels to be convinced of this. They swarm with petty contradictions.

It is always thus in history. The more abundant the documents concerning a given epoch, the greater the embarrassment of criticism, because contradictory

statements, all equally worthy of credence, abound in like proportion. Those historians who in a later day shall narrate the war of 1870 will be in possession of an incomparable wealth of authorities, and will be able to set forth the same facts in two or three different ways, basing their statements upon documents of indisputable authenticity.

The same is the case with regard to the last days in the life of Jesus. When we narrated his infancy and youth we were face to face with the unknown; we were forced upon conjecture. Here it is just the other way: we have facts, authorities, the narratives of witnesses; but between them we must make a choice, and here our perplexities begin. To choose is sometimes more difficult than to conjecture. Often we know not what conclusion to form; where the Synoptics say Yes, the Fourth Gospel says No, and *vice versa*. Did Jesus keep the Jewish Passover with his disciples on the evening before his death? Yes, say the first three Gospels; No, says St. John. Did the Last Supper take place on the 13th or the 14th Nisan? The 13th, says St. John; the 14th, affirm

the Synoptics. On what day was Jesus crucified? On the 14th Nisan, says St. John; on the 15th, say the Synoptics. At what hour? At nine o'clock in the morning, according to the first three Gospels; not until afternoon, according to the Fourth. These are only trifling details, if you please; but we shall show that they are not unimportant; and besides, there are still other contradictions, while as to the examples just chosen the opposition is irreconcilable. We cannot accept one set of statements without rejecting the other. It is only the harmonists who are intrepid enough to piece together passages reciprocally destructive, and declare that their contradictions are unimportant. We are more respectful toward the texts, believing that no one respects them less than those who distort them that they may make them agree.

It is true that for the object which I have in mind these differences are of minor importance. I have already said that I am not relating the life of Jesus, but simply seeking to discern his thought. I desire to speak of what went on in his soul. In this last volume, as hitherto, I

shall treat of his *person*, how he understood himself; of his *authority*, what authority he attributed to himself; and, finally, of his *work*, which was a work of "obedience unto death, even the death of the cross."[1] I shall particularly ask what were the special interests of Jesus during these last days, and I shall show that he was occupied in turn by two great thoughts, antithetical to one another, — the persuasion that a violent death was approaching him very nearly, and the invincible hope that it would be spared him.

I shall put aside, as I have hitherto done, those episodes of the Gospel history which do not directly affect my subject, with the result that here, as in the two former volumes, many things will be purposely left out. These, however, will be less numerous than in the other works. I can see no motive for not utilizing the data here given concerning certain personages, like Annas, Caiaphas, Judas; of not giving a thorough study to the denial of Peter; or of not giving this or that archæological detail which may illustrate the story.

[1] Phil. ii. 8.

I shall tell what I find in the Gospels; what it is to me impossible not to find there. I shall endeavor to set aside all that religious education and received tradition have put *a priori* in the thought of all of us, upon these grave subjects. We all have, inevitably, our ready-made ideas upon these well-known questions, and those accepted, time-honored explanations of their difficulties, which no one dreams of doubting. I shall seek to forget them all, and to speak of the last days of Jesus' life, of his death, of his resurrection, as if my eyes had fallen upon the Gospel narratives for the first time, and as if no book, whether of edification or of criticism, had been written upon them, or were known by me. The task is difficult; yet I must undertake it, and every historian of Jesus ought to undertake it: his duty of impartiality requires this. My readers will judge whether it has been given me to succeed, at least to a certain degree.

In view of my special purpose, the chapters upon the resurrection of Jesus will form, so to speak, an appendix to my work, the rather as they do not belong to the study proper. The acts and deeds of

the Risen One have nothing essential to teach us about his *person*, his *authority*, or his *work;* and to remain within the limits which I marked out for myself, I might, and perhaps I should, have paused at the death of Jesus upon the cross. But the resurrection of Jesus Christ is so important, both in itself and by the influence which faith in his resurrection has exerted and still exerts, that I feel myself bound to speak of it. I shall devote to it five or six chapters, which will be in some sort supplementary. I shall first study the various accounts of the resurrection, shall then say what seems to me to be the truth about the resurrection, and finally I shall show what is to be understood by faith in the Risen Christ.

And now, thanking God that I have been able to complete this task, I ask of him that it may do good, that it may contribute to the instruction and edification of souls by making them acquainted with a Christ who is perhaps more living and more real than he whom they have until now adored and served. I have written these three volumes in all sincerity and in all faith. If some pious persons are sur-

prised and in a manner disconcerted by one or another of my assertions, I am confident that they will reverse this first impression, and I dare hope that they will perceive that the Christ of my three volumes is indeed he who lived, the Christ of history, the Saviour of the world, and the Saviour of their souls.

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JESUS CHRIST

HIS PERSON, HIS AUTHORITY, HIS WORK

Part Third

THE DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST

CHAPTER I

THE LAST WINTER

LET us take up the story where we left it at the end of our second volume; that is, at the moment when Jesus arrived in Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles, in the early days of October in the year 29. He will be crucified in early April of the next year, at the Feast of the Passover; there remain, therefore, only six months to describe.

We have seen Jesus forming the resolution to set out for the Holy City; we have set forth his motives for going thither, his disappointments, his presentiments, and have cited his very distinct utterances as to the destiny which was awaiting him. It was the growing opposition of the Pharisees which urged him on to Jerusalem. He was resolved to look this opposition in the face, and vanquish it or die.

The earlier hostilities of the Pharisees had had the contrary effect, and had rather deterred him from visiting the capital of Palestine. During a long period, perhaps eighteen months, we have seen him declining to make the pilgrimage thither;[1] he refused to set out with the caravan, and this time he even declared that he would not go. Then, when every one had gone he set out[2] alone, or with his most intimate disciples, but not walking with them, travelling *incognito*.[3]

In this conduct there was an abrupt change of plan, easy to understand. Jesus had avoided Jerusalem because he knew by former experience what a formidable battle he would there be called to wage. He desired first to win over the northern province to his ideas; but now that Galilee itself was closed to him, there was no other alternative open to him but conflict, and that in the very heart of his nation. His ministry of wandering had only been a moment of transition, a sort of interruption of his work, fruitful, indeed, for in it he became definitely non-sectarian; but

[1] John vii. 1. [2] John vii. 10.
[3] Luke ix. 51; Mark x. 32.

this very catholicity, separating him from the religion of his fathers, only made the more imperative in his eyes the necessity of carrying the conflict to the very centre, to Jerusalem, where either victory or defeat must be decisive.

Jesus therefore set out, and we may imagine with what thoughts! Would he ever again see these lake shores, and all this Galilee which he so dearly loved? His own country would have none of him; and now, what was he to meet? Death, a horrible death; everything told him so; the necessity of a death by violence was showing itself more and more clearly to be imperative. The Dolorous Way was opening before him; Jesus was truly setting forth to meet the cross.

His apostles and a few pious women followed him; he walked in advance of them absorbed in thought; he preferred it so. His own friends, no doubt, remained faithful to him, but they were profoundly disturbed.[1] They did not understand him, nor did they approve of him.

At other times, however, master and disciples would come together, and the little

[1] Mark x. 32.

spiritual family would be more united than ever. At such times they drew all the more closely to one another for being in a region that was strange to them. National attractions come about of themselves when people meet far from their mother country; at such a time they are glad to recognize one another and live together.[1]

Was Jesus thinking only of his death? By no means. By a paradox, strange, perhaps, but frequent, the most lively hopes were allied in his mind with the darkest apprehensions. He hoped that his people would turn again to him, that this last attempt would be crowned with striking success; in a word, he hoped that the Jews would be converted, would welcome him with acclaim, and that the nation being ready, the kingdom would appear. But at the same time he felt apprehension; he was apprehensive of being rejected, vanquished, put to death; he foreboded a catastrophe, a sudden and possible destruction of all his hopes; and he shuddered at the thought.

His forebodings were only too well justified. Jesus entered Judea and went up to

[1] Matt. xxvii. 55; Mark xv. 41; Luke xxiii. 49, 55.

Jerusalem; he did not return; he was barely able to make a few short journeys in the outskirts of the city, a few brief retreats, to enjoy a few fleeting days of retirement and silence. The Galilean ministry was forever ended.

No doubt he exercised a certain ministry in the Holy City, but how different from that of the lakeside! No more publicans brought to repentance, no more demonized men healed, no more sinful women touched, no further preparation for the kingdom by the conversion of hearts. Instead of these, invective and dispute, everything that up to this time he had avoided with all possible care.

Obliged henceforth to argue with the Pharisees of Jerusalem, he took their tone, made use of their arguments, spoke their language; but solely because they forced him to it. They questioned him and he could not but reply; but conversations of this sort were certainly distasteful to him.

The usual custom of Jesus was neither to discuss nor to argue; in this sense no one was less a rabbi than he. In Galilee it had sufficed him to make appeal to the moral sense, and speak to the conscience.

But when disputatious persons force one to reply, one is inevitably compelled to follow them upon their own ground and adopt their language.[1] For that matter, Jesus was passed master in these arts.

In Jerusalem, where he arrived without making himself known, entering the city quietly,[2] Jesus at once perceived himself to be as it were hemmed in by a wall. What he needed was to break his way through it, and he was not long in perceiving that this he could not succeed in doing; that the opposition was stronger than he, and that sooner or later it would be the victor.

He at once began to preach, speaking with all frankness; but the hatred of the Pharisees soon pursued him, harassing him unceasingly.[3] He was truly in a foreign country, himself a foreigner and surrounded by foreigners; and now he met what he had not met in Galilee, — opposition arising from determined incredulity and obstinate prepossession.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that Jesus was forced to spend the last

[1] Matt. xii. 3–8, xxiii. 16 ff. [2] John vii. 10 ff.
[3] John vii. 20, 25, 30, 32.

days of his life in treating questions of casuistry. The distance is wide indeed between the demonstration of the resurrection of the dead from the Pentateuch, and the Sermon on the Mount, between the arguments disproving the Davidic descent of the Messiah and the parables of the Kingdom of God! But the conditions required this. Jesus must needs change his method of teaching when with these bitter, aggressive, unbelieving hearers, the cavillings of the scribes and the sophisms of the doctors forced him to become a controversialist.[1] At times he even made the first attack.[2]

It is painful to think how, during these last months, Jesus thus wore himself out by disputing with the rabbis in the Temple porticos, and replying to men who were determined neither to hear nor to believe in him. To every word said in his favor these wiseacres would reply: "He is of Galilee, and no prophet comes out of Galilee." The words were repeated in the Sanhedrin itself; for the name of Jesus had already been brought up in the San-

[1] Matt. xxi. 23–27, xxii. 23 f.

[2] Matt. xxii. 41 f.

hedrin, and one of its members, secretly favorable to him, had attempted to defend him.[1]

Between the priests and Jesus there was absolutely no possible meeting-ground, no point of contact even. We have already described these arrogant Sadducees;[2] they had all the pride of their caste, and formed an opulent clerical body, who concerned themselves not in the least with the people. Aristocratic and conservative, they were of that satisfied class who are disturbed and irritated by the slightest suggestion of change. In their opinion the Temple religion ought to be incapable of change. They were as fanatical and as incapable of receiving new ideas as the Mussulmans of our day; and yet success absolutely depended upon overcoming them, upon triumphing over their fanaticisms.

We think that it was during the Feast of Tabernacles (October, A. D. 29) and that of the Dedication (December, A. D. 29) that Jesus was forced into three very intricate rabbinical discussions, of which the Gospels speak, and obliged to reply to

[1] John vii. 50 f.

[2] See "Jesus Christ Before his Ministry," pp. 96 ff.

the perfidious questions of the Pharisees and Sadducees.[1]

One of the first questions put to him was that of the tribute. It was a hotly discussed question in those days, and served in some sort as a touchstone for the intensity of a man's patriotism. "Let us see," said the Pharisees, "whether he is for or against the tribute;" certain, whatever might be his reply, to find in it some excuse for turning it against him; for it was essential that he should be compromised, and led on to some imprudent utterance. Nothing seemed easier than to do this with the question of the tribute; and who could tell? perhaps it would provide a way to

[1] It is much more natural to place these discussions at this period than to accumulate them all in the first days of the last week (between Palm Sunday and Holy Thursday), as the Synoptics, who mention only one journey to Jerusalem, are obliged to do. How much more natural and accurate are the data of the Fourth Gospel on this point! Tradition has gathered up into the last days much that ought to be scattered, perhaps, through all the various visits of Jesus to the Holy City, and in any case should be spread over the long months of the last winter. Tradition has done what they always do who look from a distance, — foreshortened that which is far off. The eye-witness who stands behind the writer of the Fourth Gospel is free from tradition; he sees from close by, and he sees true.

make him out a second Judas the Gaulonite. Pharisees and Herodians therefore came together and concocted a little plot, the purpose of which was to submit to him this famous problem; they had most adroitly ordered its very terms. Under an appearance of frankness and simplicity, the question concealed a trap.

We know the admirable reply of Jesus.

This question of paying tribute, yes or no, was certainly one of those which he had decided before entering upon his ministry, and the phrase which he uttered on the day when he caused a Roman *denier* to be brought to him had no doubt been formulated by him long before, in a motto which he never gave up; for it is inadmissible that Jesus had never considered this question until the moment when it was put to him.[1]

By this utterance, marvellous in depth and justice, he separated the political from the religious power, and showed wherein was the true spirituality, the true liberality.

Let us study this reply of Jesus more closely. He formally counsels obedience

[1] Matt. xvii. 24 f.

to Cæsar. Perhaps he perceived the impossibility of an efficacious, forcible resistance to Rome; although he seems never to have fully recognized its power. But God had permitted Rome to be master; then it should be obeyed, at least temporarily. The Pharisees themselves were of this opinion,[1] and so, it need not be said, were the Sadducees. Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. Who could take exception to that? Nothing in the past history of the Jews opposed it; neither the Law nor tradition commanded revolution. So long as the Jew obeyed the law, retained his moral independence, and kept his conscience intact, he might recognize the will of God in a temporary foreign domination, and accept it, in consequence; it was possible even to maintain that he ought to do so. Therefore Jesus could remain entirely true to the most lively national hopes, while saying, "Pay to Cæsar the tribute which he demands," and give no ground for the criticism of even those most zealous for the Law.

This is not all; without doubt Jesus

[1] Except the party, at that time small, of the intransigent and the extreme.

might have paused here, and said no more than "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." The reply to the question which had been put to him was complete; but he took advantage of the opportunity to add, "Render to God the things that are God's." The aphorism is perfect in this clear and precise form, and it penetrated like an arrow to the soul of the hearer. "To Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, to God that which is God's." By the second part of his reply Jesus forestalled all objection; he showed that he did not forget the God of his people and his inalienable rights.

Such as it is, this utterance of Jesus was not only in advance of his age, it is in advance of all the ages that have followed; it is even in advance of our own time. Neither antiquity nor the Middle Ages understood it, and still to-day it is most wrongly applied. It remains, like all the other sayings of Jesus, a prophecy; an immortal motto which will never be overpassed, and which will be truly practised only in the future.

The Pharisees confessing themselves beaten, the Sadducees in their turn under-

took to ensnare Jesus. They worked up the sufficiently ridiculous story of the seven brothers successively married by the same woman. Here we have a highly authentic sample of the objections the Sadducees used to make to the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, one of the favorite dogmas of the Pharisaic school, and which Jesus admitted. "Why should it be thought incredible that God should raise the dead?" was St. Paul's [1] question, and it must certainly have been a favorite maxim of Saul of Tarsus. In fact, the Pharisees made strenuous efforts to demonstrate that belief in the resurrection of the body deposited in the ground was pefectly admissible. "Are not all things possible with God?" they would say; "there is then nothing surprising nor strange in his raising the dead;" and there were many people to whom such a reflection was entirely conclusive. The resurrection of one dead was among things possible. There were even some persons who affirmed that such events had already taken place. At the present day, for a man of modern times, a real resurrection,

[1] Acts xxvi. 8.

the return to organic life of a body really dead, is the impossibility of impossibilities.[1] But at that time not one of the peremptory reasons existed which we have for entirely refusing to admit the possibility of a resurrection which should occur in our day. "The dead," they would say, "can rise again;" and in any case they will rise again "at the last day;" that is to say, at the advent of the Messiah.

Here the Sadducees represented the old Hebraic good sense and strongly ridiculed the belief of the Pharisees. This was legitimate warfare, and it is certain that that one of the stories invented by them which is known to us was fairly well conceived. It shows how unreasonable is the belief in a return to life of organs which have no longer any reason for being. Jesus, who for a long time had been pondering this question, and who had cleared up his ideas upon it, replied that "All the dead live to God."[2] In the age to come, in the restoration of all things, the Resurrection, there would be no more

[1] See our reflections on this subject, "Jesus Christ Before his Ministry," p. 27.

[2] Luke xx. 38.

marriage. We should be like the angels, "for all live to him;" that is, the death of the body cannot interrupt relations with God. Here he is neither with the Pharisees nor with the Sadducees. He denies the resurrection of the very flesh which has been alive, and he affirms the future life, in a saying as sane as it is precise: "Whoever in this life lives in God and for God is eternal;" he is passed, at the present time, from death into life.[1] No doubt Jesus might have said, in the same sense, "From this time, by faith, he enters the kingdom, though the kingdom is not yet come."

Another time, in the course of this winter, either at the Feast of Tabernacles or at that of the Dedication, perhaps the same day as the Gospels would have it, a scribe asked Jesus which is the greatest commandment of the law. Jesus replied by suppressing all in the Law which lies outside of love to God and to one's neighbor, and he made these two identical.

This time he received some satisfaction; a few persons approved of him; a scribe

[1] John v. 24 and *passim*.

even found this summary of the Law "admirable." But this was certainly not the case with the Sadducees, and for them the saying of Jesus which summed up the Law in two commandments was an abominable heresy; for, in fact, there was the Temple with its sacrifices, and one might not declare that it was nothing as compared with the love of God and of one's neighbor. Therefore they set in motion the report that Jesus would pull down the Temple; that he was talking of its speedy disappearance, and affirming that he would replace it; and these more or less authentic reports which were in circulation rendered him an object of much suspicion.

Jesus knew this, and was only the more bold to speak. One day he in his turn asked a question, himself making the first attack,[1] showing how in a Psalm David, by inspiration (and consequently with absolute truth), declared that the Messiah was his Lord and master. Therefore, said Jesus, the Messiah is not a "Son of David," as the scribes assert.[2]

[1] Mark xii. 35 ff.

[2] The Psalm (Ps. cx.) is not by David; but in that day all the Psalms, or nearly all, were held to be

Here again he was the victor; a fact which exasperated his antagonists, who from this day were silent.[1]

Davidic. It has been insisted that Jesus did not here deny his Davidic descent; that his purpose was to bring the scribes to see that the Messiah must be more than a Son of David. Never was exegesis more fantastic and more predetermined. It is true that elsewhere Jesus permitted himself to be called Son of David, accepting a name which here he clearly seems to reject. Most probably he was personally entirely indifferent to the question of his descent, and simply wished to show the scribes, without either affirming or denying his own parentage, how easy it was to embarrass them by simply imitating their casuistry.

[1] Matt. xxii. 46.

CHAPTER II

INTRIGUES AGAINST JESUS

IF the enemies of Jesus ceased to attack him openly, none the less did they plot against him in secret. We have just referred to one of his sayings which they laid up against him: "Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will rear it up again." That is, "What though the Temple itself disappear, I myself will shortly build a new edifice, an invisible sanctuary, in which little by little all humanity shall find a place." He had spoken thus long before, on the day when he cleansed the Temple, but his words had not been forgotten.[1] This saying, treasured up, repeated, deliberately misunderstood, was to be the pretext for his condemnation.

[1] Mark xiv. 58, xv. 29. Cf. John ii. 19. It is Mark who gives the most authentic text, the very words uttered by Jesus.

For that matter, every act of Jesus was used against him. His uprightness, his good sense, his penetrating simplicity failed to disarm his adversaries, but rather irritated them the more. The less they found themselves able to answer him the more exasperated against him they became. It is when one has exhausted arguments that he uses violence. When Jesus closed the mouths of his opponents, they took up stones to stone him[1] by way of obeying the law,[2] and it is needless to say that for a long time they had heaped offensive epithets upon him: madman, demoniac, Samaritan.[3]

An unknown writer has preserved for us the memory of one of his discussions.[4] One day they brought before Jesus a woman taken in the very act of adultery. His reply to their question is of admirable beauty: "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone." Never had his irony been more keen, never did

[1] John viii. 59, x. 31, xi. 8.

[2] Deut. xiii. 3 ff.; Luke xx. 6; John x. 33; 2 Cor. xi. 25.

[3] John x. 20.

[4] John viii. 3 ff.; a passage which was not originally a part of the Fourth Gospel.

he more directly reach the consciences and close the lips of his adversaries. This incident added to all the others simply embittered the hatred with which he inspired them.

At other times he would show the absurdity of those official personages who built tombs for themselves, colossal and paltry edifices which served only to display their hypocrisy and vanity.

The fine allegory of the shepherd and the sheep[1] was also related in Jerusalem this winter at one of the feasts. He declared, "The sheep hear my voice and follow me," and spoke in no indirect terms of the mercenaries who love not the sheep.

Finally, his vehement polemical discourses against the Pharisees were certainly another of the determining causes of his death. The immortal apostrophes, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" etc., counted for much in the desire to be rid of Jesus, which took possession of the Pharisees and the chief priests. Who knows; but for these attacks he might perhaps have passed unregarded. The Sadducees were not aggressive; they

[1] John x. 1 ff.

loved their repose above all things, and though they became the true authors of Jesus' death, it was certainly not by reason of any new zeal for religion and for the law, but because they were determined to have no disturbance, no commotion.

Those whom Jesus most disquieted were the *Sopherim* among the Pharisees; it is true that they also were most displeasing to him. He spoke to them with an eloquence of holy indignation which recalls the preaching of John the Baptist; he branded their hypocrisy; he continually insisted that the Gentiles would be substituted for the Jews, and the kingdom transferred to them.[1] At the same time he boldly declared himself to be the Son of God,[2] and openly named the Pharisees as the murderers of the heaven-sent messengers.

In denunciations of sublime eloquence he fulminated against all wicked priests and false devotees, exposed the spiteful and sugared bigotry of hypocritical Pharisees. Ah, how slight a thing must now

[1] Matt. xx. 1 ff., xxi. 28 ff., 33 ff., xxii. 1 ff.; Mark xii. 1 ff.; Luke xx. 9 ff.

[2] Matt. xxi. 37 f.; John x. 36.

have appeared to him the opposition of the Galilean Pharisees!

These last days of his life must have been deeply saddened by sight of this most narrow formalism. His ardent invectives are penetrated through and through with the grief that filled his heart as he saw his plans failing, his people rejecting him, an ever-growing hatred springing up around him, his work miscarried, his death by violence becoming every day more inevitable. Oh, these Pharisees, of whom he had hoped so much! who had been so congenial to him! whom he had for so long a time believed to be the true heirs of the past! He was exasperated, not with the men, but with their spirit, their tendencies, with what future ages were to call Pharisaism! This sort of Pharisaism still exists; it is in the heart of man; it knows no national barrier.

He had gone too far; they resolved upon his death. This measure had already been spoken of,[1] but vaguely, and it is hard to say when it was for the first time seriously considered; no doubt it was at first merely a suggestion, which, growing

[1] John v. 18, vii. 1, 20, 25, 30, viii. 37, 40.

little by little, was transformed into a prediction and finally took on a reality which it had not at first. The Jews had authority to rid themselves of Jesus by stoning. The Romans were about to take away this liberty, but they still had it; and having it, they noted the slightest words of the Nazarene, in order to make of them a trap into which they might push him.

It was probably about February or March that the death of Jesus was definitively resolved upon, at least in principle.[1] The chief priests came together;[2] the question before them was Jesus or Judaism. The high priest Caiaphas saw true when he put it in this absolute form; he clearly perceived all the danger of new doctrines.

This Caiaphas had little more than nominal power; but at his side like an evil genius was his father-in-law Annas, a former high priest, and head of a very powerful family. Annas was the true incarnation of Sadduceeism. He had all its prejudices and all its arrogance, and to these he added consummate experience and thorough acquaintance with all the

[1] John xi. 53. [2] John xi. 47.

traditions of his order. It was always to him that every question was referred. His authority was so great that the usual expression was Annas and Caiaphas,[1] he being named first, before the actual high priest.

It is not to be doubted that this crafty priest was the true author of Jesus' death, and certainly more culpable than Caiaphas or Pilate. Like all the Sadducees he was a conservative; that is, a man of the existing order, of narrow and petty spirit. "*Quieta non movere*" might have been the motto of his life as well as that of his party. To avoid all agitation, of whatever nature, was the guiding principle of Annas and his coterie. For that matter, is it not the guiding principle of all conservative parties?

Moreover, Annas was a proud, haughty, cruel man, and crafty in his cruelty. Our Temple, our homes, our wealth, our power, these were the unvarying watchwords of the Sadducees, and first of all of their high priest.

It had come to the point of getting rid of Jesus, and the saying of Caiaphas, "It is

[1] Luke iii. 2. See Acts iv. 6.

expedient that one man should die for the people,"[1] would have been more sincere under the form, "Let this man perish rather than the Temple, and even the rich priests who owe everything to it." In speaking as he did, the high priest made no mistake. It was necessary that Jesus should die; but the Christ would rise again and "would die no more;"[2] and when that time came Judaism would perish.

Certainly it was not the new-born Christianity that destroyed Judaism in the year 70; but if Judaism had not then disappeared, the victim of its own faults, Christianity would surely sooner or later have brought about the ruin of the Israelitish nation.[3]

And yet Jesus had not entirely failed at Jerusalem. He had had partial successes with individuals;[4] he had made a few disciples. At one time he even aroused much sympathy. "The world is gone after him," it was said.[5] At the last he had become widely known; the people held

[1] John xi. 50. [2] Rom. vi. 9.

[3] See "Palestine in the Time of Jesus Christ," preface.

[4] Mark xii. 37. [5] John xii. 19.

him to be a good patriot, so much so that the Sanhedrin feared a popular uprising if they should arrest him openly.

However, take it all in all, the number of Judeans who truly believed in him must have been sufficiently small; they remained unknown and more or less hidden; when the decisive hour came they had not the courage of their convictions. For a long time Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea dared not avow themselves won over; among the others more than one deliberately kept in the background.

It is true that Jerusalem had very deeply rooted prejudices. Follow a Galilean! Take him for a prophet! For the Messiah, perhaps! What a discredit! what a heresy, even! What a cause for excommunication! The risk of being cast out of the synagogue and having one's property confiscated was enough to make more than one draw back.[1]

Such was the state of things in Jerusalem during the autumn of the year 29, and the following winter up to the middle of March in the year 30. It was especially,

[1] Esdras x. 8; Heb. x. 34; Jerusalem, *Moed Katon*, iii. 1.

as has been said, at the two great feasts, Tabernacles (October, A. D. 29) and the Dedication (December, A. D. 29) that Jesus made his presence felt. Perhaps he visited the Holy City between these two festivals and after that of the Dedication; we do not know; but it appears certain that his sojourn in Jerusalem was always very short.

What was he doing in the intervals of his visits to the capital? He did not return to Galilee, but retired a short distance from the city to some quiet and safe retreat where he was personally unknown, and where he had no reason to fear arrest.

His conduct in these last weeks of his life shows at once great courage and great prudence. His courage is shown in the openness of his attacks, and his prudence in the care with which during the greater part of the time he sought shelter from the ambushes of his enemies. Always on the alert, he had a peculiar way of disappearing in the midst of a crowd, and slipping away unobserved.[1] After the Feast of the Dedication he went still farther away, to Perea, on the eastern side of the Jordan.

[1] Luke iv. 30; John viii. 59; x. 39, etc.

But his usual retreat was Ephraim; he generally went thither after his appearances in Jerusalem. Ephraim was a small village at a short distance northward from the Holy City.[1]

In Ephraim Jesus was entirely unknown; he could remain there hidden, with the Twelve.[2] He could easily go thence to Jerusalem in a few hours; while there he was near the desert, which at need would offer him a retreat. By prolonging his sojourn in Ephraim he might hope to become forgotten, at least temporarily.

But the order for his arrest had been given, and his enemies, knowing how much Jesus valued the Feast of the Passover, had no fear that he would not return to the Holy City to celebrate the annual festival with his friends.[3]

[1] Authorities are not agreed as to the situation of Ephraim. Eusebius places it eight miles north of Jerusalem, Jerome twenty miles. Eusebius calls it Ephron; in that case it must be the town mentioned with Bethel and Jerusalem in 2 Chron. xiii. 19. Josephus also mentions a city Ephraim (*D. B. J.* 4, 9, 9) in connection with Bethel. He speaks of Vespasian taking the towns of Bethel and Ephraim. Lightfoot (following Talm. *Menacoth*, cap. 9, hal. 9) places it on the border of the territory of the tribe of Ephraim.

[2] John xi. 54. [3] John xi. 55, 56.

This indeed was what came to pass. Jesus returned to Jerusalem, and notwithstanding the gravest indications of danger, was kept there by his desire to keep the Passover, joined with the almost certitude of not being disturbed during the Feast; and it was at this time that he was arrested. Perhaps he might even yet have escaped, so carefully had he taken all precautionary measures, had not one of the Twelve infamously made known his place of retreat and caused his arrest on the very night of the Feast. After that, all was over in a few hours. The Sadducees made away with him, having by base flattery and a most artful lie secured his condemnation by the Roman authority.

But let us not anticipate; for the time Jesus was still hoping, in spite of a thousand ever-growing reasons for hoping no longer.

Among his favorite retreats was one in the outskirts of the city, Bethany, where he had some valued friends:[1] Martha, Mary, Lazarus, Simon the leper, formed a faithful company. Jesus loved to refresh himself in their society. The contrast

[1] John xi. 1 ff.; Matt. xxvi. 6; Mark xiv. 3.

between Bethany and Jerusalem, though so near one another, was complete. At Bethany Jesus felt himself far removed from the cavillings of the scribes, their intricate questions, their malice and perfidy. Bethany in some degree made up to him for his beloved Galilee, the lake shore, the solitary mountain retreat. This village became his preferred resting-place, his best-beloved home.

These were some of his places of refuge; it is probable, however, that he often changed his abode, and for reasons of prudence never remained long in any place.

Once, in his comings and goings, he stopped in Jericho. Caravans of pilgrims used often to pass through it. The city was surrounded with palms and banana trees, and being in commercial relations with many cities on the farther side of the Jordan, a considerable number of publicans were stationed there. The director of these customs officers, a certain Zaccheus, perceived the breadth of Jesus' ideas and declared himself for him, and Jesus lodged in his house. The apostles, long since accustomed to see their master

thus act, took no offence; but to many, to all the strangers in the city, this step on Jesus' part became a stumbling-block.

At the time of this visit to Jericho Jesus was again on his way to Jerusalem. It was one of his critical journeys to the Holy City, perhaps the last, and on that day a great crowd was following him, especially of Galileans. The rumor had gone abroad that the kingdom was about to appear; that it was precisely in order to be present at its coming that Jesus was on his way to the place where it would first be manifested. "The slow and quiet time of preparation is past," men said; "the kingdom is not simply at hand, it is imminent; it will almost immediately appear." There was therefore an extraordinary excitement in all this crowd of provincial pilgrims, among this Galilean folk, who professed a great admiration for Jesus, an unlimited confidence in him.[1] They were ready for anything; they expected everything. Did they all see in Jesus the Messiah? We do not think so. For the majority of them he was only the Prophet, the Forerunner, the Herald,

[1] Luke xix. 11.

"He who cometh in the name of the Lord," as they themselves were to say; some called him Elias, and others Jeremiah or one of the prophets;[2] for the Messiah was not to appear until the advent of the kingdom. The Twelve, indeed, affirmed that Jesus was the Messiah, and that when the kingdom appeared he would appear in his glory, quitting his humble character of Servant of the Lord. Every one, therefore, was expecting something striking.

And Jesus himself, — what were his ideas about the kingdom at this very moment when he was going up to Jerusalem, almost certain of dying there? We have already shown that he had the gravest reasons for looking forward to a premature death as inevitable; but at the same time he had a hope that the will of God might be otherwise accomplished, that a change might take place in the minds of the people and of the Sanhedrin. In that case he would resume and finish his Galilean work, preparing for the kingdom by repentance and a change in the hearts of men; and this in Jerusalem itself, in the

[1] Matt. xvi. 14.

Temple, welcomed by all. What a vision was this!

Then the kingdom would appear, and he, the Son of man, would come in his glory.

Alas! events were to turn out quite otherwise, and the Father's will was to be revealed to him as quite other than that which he still hoped. He went up to Jerusalem, asking himself whether his people would receive him with acclamation or whether he must die. And he already foresaw that the second alternative was inevitable.

And yet he would make one last effort; he would try a triumphal entry, making the most of the fact that the Galileans in his train were numerous and faithful. He would enter Jerusalem at their head, escorted and acclaimed by them, on a day carefully chosen in advance. Oh, if Jerusalem should understand in this its day the things that belong to its peace![1] No doubt he felt the growing ill-will of the leaders of his people, he had seen their faces dark with hatred; they had rejected him, they hated him; yet still God was

[1] Luke xix. 42.

powerful and he was the Father. And so he would still hope; it was impossible for him not to hope.

Can we more deeply fathom the thought of Jesus in those days when he was planning his triumphal entry; and more particularly can we enter into his thought as to the advent of the kingdom? It is easy to answer this question, thanks to a discourse on the coming of the kingdom preserved to us by the three Synoptics,[1] the study of which, with that of the parables uttered by Jesus in the closing days of his life, will be the subject of our next chapter.

[1] Matt. xxiv. and xxv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi. 5 ff.

CHAPTER III

THE LAST DISCOURSE ON THE KINGDOM

IN these closing days of his life Jesus would sometimes seat himself over against the Temple. The spectacle that lay unrolled before his eyes was a magnificent one: the terraced height upon which stood the sacred edifice, the shining roof of the sanctuary, the superb perspective of its courts, its walls and gates, evoked cries of admiration from all who looked upon it. But Jesus gazed upon these splendors with an unconquerable sadness. All this was to be destroyed; and Jerusalem, the city of his people, the citadel of King David, would cast him out, and put him to death. "O Jerusalem!" he cried, "thou which killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee! how often would I have gathered thy children together even as a hen gathereth her

chickens under her wings, and ye would not!"[1]

One day above all was particularly solemn: Jesus spoke out his full heart to his disciples. They were looking upon the buildings of the Temple, which seemed to them marvellous. It was then that Jesus spoke to them in full detail, telling them of necessary sufferings, of inevitable calamities; and yet in the very act of announcing these woes of the Holy City he prophesied the coming of the kingdom. This was his final thought.

We have shown that on many subjects the ideas of Jesus were developed gradually, taking on new forms under the pressure of events and the teachings of daily experience. But on this point his thought had not changed in the least. There is one notion which he kept ever identical with itself through his entire ministry, the notion of the kingdom of God. What it had been in the days of the Galilean ministry, when on mountain or lake side he proclaimed its approach, this it still was shortly before his death, when, sitting in view of the Temple, he predicted

[1] Matt. xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 34.

to his apostles the destruction of Jerusalem and the final catastrophe. Everything leads us to believe that we have here his first thought, that which he formed in Nazareth in the days of his youth, when he was studying the prophecies of Daniel and Enoch, and believing that the Jews would gladly welcome in him the Messiah.

He did not admit a nearer proximity of the kingdom now than formerly. The usual preparation which he had undertaken was still needed, — a longer or shorter work of reformation in the hearts of men, which he still did not despair of accomplishing; but if his people themselves refused to be converted they were lost, they would perish at the coming of the great day. This great day was near at hand, but not imminent; it was the day of his own return, the return of the Son of man.

His entire way of looking upon this grave subject is summed up in a few words, in an utterance of his not recorded in the Gospels, but cited textually by St. Paul in one of his Epistles, written long before the Gospels.[1]

[1] 1 Thess. iv. 15 ff.

In A. D. 52 or 53, Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, quoted to them a "saying of the Lord." It is this: "We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not precede them which are asleep; for the Lord himself shall descend from heaven at a given signal, the voice of the archangel and the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive, the remnant, shall be caught up at the same time with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, and thus we shall be forever with the Lord."[1] This assertion of Paul is fully confirmed by the sayings of Jesus himself, as the Evangelists have preserved them. Jesus also spoke of angels sounding the trumpet, and of his own descent as Son of man, coming in the clouds of heaven. All the parables of the close of his ministry, all his sayings, all his extended discourses, show that this is pre-

[1] It is evident that St. Paul slightly modified the expression for the convenience of his readers, and that placing it upon the lips of Jesus we must read thus: "You who may be alive, having been reserved to see my appearing," or "the appearing of the Son of man," etc. For that matter, St. Paul speaks *according to* a saying of Jesus, and does not cite it word for word.

cisely his thought, in these days of intense thought on the subject of the last things, and that his views never varied.

Intense thought, we say, for in the latter part of his life Jesus was certainly much absorbed in these high and grave questions: the end of the world, his return, the coming of the kingdom, preceded by a catastrophe which would overwhelm his people. That these were unceasingly in his thoughts is proved by the parables of this period, every one of which treats of this same subject (the Ten Virgins, the Talents, the Marriage Supper, the Vinedressers, the Last Judgment, etc.). And as Jesus liked to utter the last perfected form of his thought in the form of parables, as it was in parables that he finally left it, we must seek for his final thought in the figures that he uses.

This is what we find in them: the kingdom is always *to come;* in the parable of the Ten Virgins[1] it is represented by the festal hall which men will enter whenever the bridegroom shall appear. The same is the case in the parable of the

[1] Matt. xxv. 1 ff.

Minæ or the Talents;[1] the kingdom *will be* given, *will be* inaugurated; it is therefore not yet come. In the words to the Pharisees of Jerusalem, which date from this epoch, Jesus says the same: "The publicans and harlots *will enter before* you into the kingdom of heaven."[2] Ye shut up the kingdom of heaven;[3] that is, you hinder others from making ready to enter, "and you shall not enter therein."

When he ate the Passover with his disciples, on the night before his death, he said that one day he *would drink* the new wine in the kingdom.[4] Jesus' first notion about the kingdom is therefore precisely the same as his last. The kingdom is not a spiritual or moral state, realized by him in the present life, and working itself out invisibly in the consciousness of his disciples. There is one only kingdom of heaven, — that which shall be set up when the Son of man appears at the end of the present age[5] or in the age to come.[6]

As to the great eschatological discourse,

[1] Matt. xxv. 14 ff. [2] Matt. xxi. 31.
[3] Matt. xxiii. 13.
[4] Luke xxii. 16–18; Mark xiv. 25; Matt. xxvi. 29.
[5] Matt. xiii. 40, 41. [6] Matt. xix. 28.

so embarrassing to certain prejudging critics that they prefer either to deny its authenticity or to give it an allegorical explanation, though without having the shadow of a reason for such an allegorization, it is admirably comprehensible from the historic point of view.[1] Jesus was repeating what was said in the apocalypses of his own days, and as he never said that he was allegorizing, or that his words must be taken spiritually, no one has any right to do so. Moreover, these ideas had for a long time been the property both of himself and of the whole people.

[1] The authenticity of this discourse has been contested, is contested still in all the various camps of criticism, the most conservative as well as the most radical. It is certain that parts of it have been worked over. A simple comparison of the three texts shows that Luke's account was worked over *post eventum;* but its authenticity as a whole appears to me beyond dispute. Who, indeed, could have invented Mark's account? Such assertions have been disproved by facts! Modern exegetes tell us that Jesus could not have said this or that, always deciding what he must have said! We believe that it is more respectful toward his thought not to permit ourselves to pass judgment on his words, but to set them forth impartially, just as they have been transmitted to us by disinterested hearers, who more often than not did not understand him. As to allegorizing all these words, we leave this to those who find symbols where Jesus never said that he put any.

It is true that never hitherto had he spoken so clearly. If he did so now at last, it was because his violent death was imminent, and because the kingdom would come only after his death. This being so, it was necessary that the apostles should know and remember it, that when he was no longer with them, their faith in the coming of his kingdom should not in the least be shaken. All that the prophets had said should be accomplished. He said to himself, "I shall return! I shall return!" This certainly sustained him; and before Caiaphas, when he was condemning him to death, he exclaimed, "From henceforth you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of Power, and coming in the clouds of heaven,"[1] thus showing that

[1] Matt. xxvi. 64; Mark xiv. 62; Luke xxii. 69. There have at times been those who have found in the words "From this time forward," or "henceforth," the proof that the words that follow are allegorical. According to this view the return in the clouds is a permanent and spiritual return. Nothing, absolutely nothing, authorizes such an interpretation, entirely due to the imagination of these allegorizers. The words "from this time forth" have a perfectly simple and clear sense, to which we shall return when we speak of the appearance of Jesus before the Sanhedrin on the occasion of his trial.

men should daily look forward to the coming of the kingdom.

The following are indeed the apocalyptic ideas of Jesus, in their final and complete form: —

The present order is to come to an end by a tremendous revolution, a "tribulation" which shall be a time of travail, followed by a birth or a new birth, a "palingenesis."[1] This new birth was to be accompanied by phenomena which would be only the result of these child-birth pangs.[2]

It is beyond question that certain features of this discourse are due to the narratives themselves, since the dates at which the several accounts were committed to writing are indicated by the varying degrees of precision with which the siege of Jerusalem is described. But Jesus must have predicted very terrible events. The passages in which he does so cannot be unauthentic; they are too closely in accordance with the ideas of his times. That terrible events would precede the Messiah's advent was universally foretold

[1] Matt. xix. 28.

[2] Matt. xxiv. 3 ff.; Mark xiii. 4 ff.; Luke xvii. 22 ff.

and everywhere believed.[1] At a given moment, "the sign of the Son of man" would appear in the heavens; this would be the great day. The sign was to consist of a luminous vision, a lightning flash, a flame of fire darting across the sky. Then the Messiah, that is to say, Christ himself, would appear in the clouds, coming down from heaven; the angels would sound the trump of God. They would surround the Son of man, whose glory and majesty would exceed anything that could be imagined. The twelve apostles should be seated upon twelve thrones, at his side. The dead should rise in their own bodies, and the Messiah should judge the world.[2]

This judgment would be shared by men in two categories according to their works, good and bad. The sentences would be executed by angels.[3] The elect would be received into a delightful abode, prepared for them from the foundation of the

[1] Enoch 99, 100, 102, 103; Sibylline Leaves, iii. 336 ff., 633 f., iv. 168 f., v. 511 f.; Daniel vii. 25 ff., viii. 23 ff., ix. 26, 27, xii. 1.

[2] Matt. xvi. 27, xix. 28, xx. 21, xxiv. 30 f., xxv. 31 ff., xxvi. 64; Mark xiv. 62; Luke xxii. 30; 1 Cor. xv. 52; 2 Cor. v. 10; 1 Thess. iv. 15 f.

[3] Matt. xiii. 36 f., 49, 50, xxv. 31.

world.[1] There they would sit at table with Abraham, the patriarchs and the prophets.[2] These would be the minority.[3] The others would go to Gehenna, a dark valley filled with fire. There they would be gnawed by worms, in company with Satan and the rebel angels. The fall of the angels, as related by Enoch, was at that time universally admitted.[4] There would be weeping and gnashing of teeth.[5] The abode of the blessed would be like a closed hall, luminous inside, in the midst of a world of darkness and torment.[6] The new order of things would be eternal. Happiness and misery would be endless.

We shall shortly show that Jesus appears to have held to the destruction of the wicked, — their annihilation; but whether suffering or annihilation, their future state would be irrevocable, and, in consequence,

[1] Matt. xxv. 34.

[2] Matt. viii. 11, xiii. 43, xxvi. 29; Luke xiii. 28, xvi. 22, xxii. 30.

[3] Luke xiii. 23 f.

[4] Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4, 11; Rev. xii. 9; John viii. 44.

[5] Matt. v. 22, viii. 12, x. 28, xiii. 42, 50, xviii. 8, xxiv. 51, xxv. 30; Mark ix. 43.

[6] Matt. viii. 12, xxii. 13, xxv. 30; Jos. *D. B. J.* 3, 8, 5.

eternal. An abyss lay between the abode of the blessed and that of the damned.[1] The Son of man, forever seated on the right hand of God, would be the final judge of men.[2]

Jesus had been so clear, so explicit, that all the first Christian generations believed that the end of the world was very near.[3] "The time is at hand," they were continually saying;[4] the Apocalypse declares it to be in three and a half years.[5]

At the same time we must observe that Jesus never set a time; he even declared that he knew not the exact time, the day and hour were unknown to him.[6] It was to be a surprise.[7] Men must be ready to depart, must have their loins girded and their lamps kindled. They were to be

[1] Luke xvi. 26.

[2] Luke xxii. 69; Acts vii. 55.

[3] Acts ii. 17, iii. 19 f., v. 23; 2 Thess. ii. 8; 1 Tim. vi. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 1; Titus ii. 13; James v. 3, 8; Jude 18; 2 Peter iii.; Rev. i. 1, ii. 5, 16, iii. 11, xi. 14, xxii. 6, 7, 12, 20. Cf. 2 Esdras iv. 26.

[4] Rev. i. 3, xxii. 10; *Maran-atha*, 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

[5] Rev. xi. 2, 3, xii. 14. Cf. Daniel vii. 25, xii. 7.

[6] Mark xiii. 32.

[7] Luke xvii. 20. Cf. Babyl. Talm. *Sanh.* 97a; Matt. xxiv. 36 ff.; Mark xiii. 32 ff.; Luke xii. 35 f.; 2 Pet. iii. 10.

taken unawares as by a thief, or by a lightning flash.[1]

Yet the proximity of the day was imminent. There is no possible equivocation as to this proximity as affirmed by Jesus.[2] "This generation shall not pass away until all be accomplished." "There be those among you who shall not taste of death before the kingdom of God have come."[3] The signs of the times were clear.[4] The Church believed that John, whose life was very long, would see the day before his death.[5]

We have already seen that Jesus ad-

[1] Luke xvii. 24.

[2] Matt. x. 23, chaps. xxiv. and xxv., and especially xxiv. 34; Mark xiii. 30; Luke xiii. 35, xxi. 28 ff.

[3] Matt. xvi. 28, xxiii. 36, 39, xxiv. 34; Mark ix. 1; Luke ix. 27, xxi. 32.

[4] Matt. xvi. 2–4; Luke xii. 51–56.

[5] John xxi. 22, 23. It is hard to understand how the most perspicacious interpreters, during so many centuries and even to-day, have been unable to perceive what is said in these Gospels. They are blinded by an *a priori*, and allegorize because the event did not take place. It is incredible how the critical faculty can obliterate itself to this point. Men see not that which is, that which stares them in the face, because they cannot see it. I do not say, because they will not; no, they are sincere; but truly this involuntary blindness is very strange.

mitted the resurrection of the dead. It was a somewhat new doctrine, unknown to some, rejected by others.[1] Among the Pharisees it was a matter of faith.[2]

The nature of the resurrection life was a subject of inquiry. Some said, "They will eat, will drink, will marry." Jesus excluded marriage.[3] He admitted a table, a feast, a new Passover.[4]

As to the wicked, he had two doctrines: sometimes he looked for their annihilation; they should wholly die. This was to be their punishment, and the righteous alone were to rise again.[5] At other times Jesus thought that the wicked would rise again, to be eternally punished.[6]

With regard to these points of detail he introduced no innovations. All these apocalyptic doctrines were in Daniel,[7] in

[1] Mark ix. 9; Luke xx. 27 f.

[2] Daniel xii. 2 f.; 2 Macc. vii., xii. 45, 46; Acts xxiii. 6, 8; Jos. *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 1, 3; *D. B. J.* 2, 8, 14, and 3, 8, 5.

[3] See chap. i. pp. 16 f. Jesus replying to the Sadducees.

[4] Matt. xxvi. 29; Luke xxii. 30.

[5] Luke xiv. 14, xxi. 35, 36. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 23 f.; 1 Thess. iv. 13 f.; 4 Esdras ix. 22.

[6] Matt. xxv. 32 ff.

[7] Chaps. ii., vi.–viii., and x.–xiii.

Enoch,[1] in the Sibylline Oracles,[2] and Jesus accepted these contemporary beliefs without discussion.

They have been proved false by the event, for the imminent renewal of all things did not take place, and the second Christian generation was tempted to say that Jesus was mistaken. The apocryphal Epistle of Peter has preserved for us the echo of the agonies of conscience suffered by the disciples of that time.[3]

How was it, then, that Christians remained Christians after their Master had been, as it seemed, convicted of error? Because they found in his teachings other passages to which they could give an interpretation which calmed their fears. Jesus had said that the gospel must be "preached to all nations" before the end should come.[4] The end, then, was not imminent. In the parable of the Mustard Seed, in the figure of the leaven which acts little by little, he had predicted a slow work, which would doubtless go on for a very long time. And then, they would add,

[1] Chap. i., xlv.–lii., lxii., xciii. ff.
[2] iii. 573 ff., 652 ff., 766 ff., 795 ff.
[3] 2 Peter iii. 3 ff. [4] Matt. xxiv. 14.

above all, he predicted a Palingenesis, a renewal of all things; and has this renewal not taken place? The kingdom of God is the Church, a kingdom of the spirit in which all are kings and priests. Jesus had also spoken of the uplifting of the lowly, the insignificant, and the poor, of the rehabilitation of the humble; this was the true kingdom.

Now Jesus had said of this uplifting that it is simply the preparation for the kingdom, and in his mind the slow action of leaven and the slow development of the mustard seed did not signify several centuries, but simply a delay of a few years.[1]

The Church has said: Jesus founded the kingdom, and this kingdom is the Church. In thus speaking she is both right and wrong: wrong, for evidently Jesus did not conceive of the kingdom

[1] See "Jesus Christ During his Ministry," pp. 106 ff. There remains the remark about the whole world which was to hear the preaching of the gospel before the coming of the kingdom; but the authenticity of this saying is cogently attacked by the most disinterested critics. If Jesus really said this, we should point out that from his point of view the earth was very small, and might be entirely gone over in a few years. And furthermore we repeat what has already been said: It is impossible to disprove a whole body of teaching by a single utterance.

under several different forms and in divers successive manners. No; like all his contemporaries, he called the kingdom of God the state of things described by the apocalypses of his people. But the Church was also right, for Jesus — it cannot be too often repeated — never indulged in speculation, and never kept strictly to any defined theory of the kingdom of God, to any inflexible theological construction in which nothing could ever be changed. In this sense he was not a Jew, and he never pictured to himself the kingdom of God as a wholly exterior and miraculous advent of some enormous, indescribable mechanism descending from heaven. The Christian Church has made no mistake in looking upon Jesus, not as the hero of senseless apocalyptic dreams, but as the hero of freedom, of conscience, and the establishment of a new idea of worship. It has made no mistake in saying that with Jesus the kingdom of God is the kingdom of souls that belong to God; for he established the worship that is in spirit and in truth, a purer worship than that of Moses. The idea of a temporal revolution never occurred to

him; he never accepted it, not even for a second. The social side of his work was only a result of its religious side, and was to be realized only in the future.[1] If Jesus had said nothing more than this, "The world is coming to an end, you must detach yourself from your present life and renounce everything," he would never have surpassed John the Baptist. The kingdom was to be the reign of righteousness, and when he created a church destined to prepare for the coming of the kingdom, and which, until the time when his kingdom should come, was to pray to God, "Thy kingdom come!" he showed an admirable sureness of vision. No doubt he did not abolish a single one of the apocalyptic notions of his people, but he fulfilled, transformed, renewed them. After his death, the apostles — St. Paul first of all — rejected the Jewish shell which enclosed the living germ which Jesus had scattered broadcast by his preaching, and showed that he had fulfilled, that is, developed out of the dreams of his people, all of eternal truth that they contained.

[1] Luke xii. 13, 14.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

WE have spoken of the elation of the disciples and their expectation of the imminent appearance of the kingdom. They entered rival claims for the more important places in it, which for that matter was what the Pharisees were doing every day.

On the way to Jerusalem, on one of those days when Jesus was walking alone before the others, absorbed in thought, Salome asked of him the two highest places for her two sons.[1] Jesus, who also was expecting the kingdom, did not discountenance this hope; he did not contest the notion that Salome's two sons might receive their reward in this present life, and shortly be seated on thrones judg-

[1] Matt. xx. 20 f.; Mark x. 35 f. See "Jesus Christ Before his Ministry," p. 143.

ing the tribes of Israel; he simply declared that it was not he, but the Father, who would award these places; and then he related to the disciples a parable[1] in which he made allusion to a recent political event, the deposition of Archelaus, a son of Herod. He had gone to Rome to receive the investiture; but the Jews, who detested him, had sent a deputation to say to the emperor, "We will not have this man to reign over us," and had gained their cause. Finally Jesus addressed the apostles, speaking with the express purpose of telling them that he should very soon be put to death. The apostles did not understand, and full of faith they awaited the great signal, looking up to the clouds. Were they not soon to open? Would not the trumpet soon be heard? Would not the angels soon appear, heralds of the descent of the kingdom and of that change in all things of which Jesus had recently spoken? But Jesus did not share these ideas: he believed the coming of the kingdom to be at a later date than his disciples supposed. In most of the parables of this period he pictured the lord

[1] Luke xix. 12-27.

who "delayed his coming," the father who "went a long journey," the bridegroom who "tarried."

There is here no difference between the early preaching by the lake side and that of the closing period of his life. In both the kingdom is at hand, but its coming is not immediate; his people were so little prepared, his Galilean work had so completely fallen below his expectations, that the coming of the kingdom was by so much retarded; and besides, must not his death come first? This was what he was asking himself, and he believed it to be the case.

And yet he would make one last attempt; instead of entering the city quietly like any pilgrim from abroad, as he had always done hitherto, he would try a peaceful manifestation which might, he hoped, arouse a popular movement in his favor. He felt indeed that the time was becoming more and more decisive; he must be ready for any event.

How the times had changed! Formerly he used to check the apostles, used to say to them, "Be ye wise as serpents;"[1] he

[1] Matt. x. 16.

had shunned publicity, and had hidden himself when the people desired to proclaim him king; now he was about to try to assume this title, to ask men to give it to him. He resolved to enter the city in a solemn procession. Zechariah had predicted that the Messiah would enter Jerusalem riding on an ass;[1] Jesus knew this passage, which in his mind was a prophetic description of the coming of the national king, entering the Holy City riding on an animal that was the symbol of peace. In fact the ass was the animal ridden by kings in time of peace; and Jesus decided to fulfil this prophecy. His intention to meet and realize it is certain. He therefore made preparation for this scene.

Precisely at what time did this manifestation occur? Only five days before the beginning of the Passover; that is, only four or five days before his death, for he was crucified on the first day of the feast, if not indeed on the day before it.

It has been asked if it is not necessary to place the triumphal entrance into Jerusalem at an earlier date; if the traditional date of Palm Sunday is not too late.

[1] Zech. ix. 9.

Must we really date it on the first day of the week in which Jesus was put to death? We think so. No doubt we have said that it is impossible to represent to ourselves all the acts which the Synoptics relate or presuppose as having been accumulated in the first days of the week which then began; we have pointed out with what facility at some distance of time memories are crowded together, and a whole series of events which in fact occurred much earlier, and which ought to be distributed over a long space of time, crowded into the last days, or even the last hours, of a man's life. Acts seen from a distance are massed, foreshortened;[1] but still we believe that the entry into Jerusalem is properly placed on the first day of the week of Jesus' death. The statements of the Fourth Gospel on this point are very positive and appear to be entirely authentic.

In fact, Jesus arrived in Jerusalem for the Feast very late, though the custom was to arrive early, in order to perform the purifications. His enemies, not seeing him come, believed that he was again escaping them.[2]

[1] See note on page 11. [2] John xi. 56.

Why this delay? Precisely because he was arranging the details of his triumphal entry, because he wished it to be at this very moment and none other, that it might be as solemn as possible.

He had halted at Bethany, where, as has been said, there were two houses open to him, — that of Martha and Mary, and that of Simon, called the Leper. He chose the latter.[1] Martha served, and Mary, drawing near to the *triclinium* on which Jesus reclined, poured over his feet the contents of a vase of perfume and wiped them with her long hair.

Of this Jesus said, "She is anointing my body beforehand for burial." He was then still occupied with the thought of his approaching death. If he was to perish by public execution his body would not be embalmed; funeral honors were not given to those who were put to death, least of all to those who died by stoning. But this woman had embalmed his body beforehand. He thus predicted that his death would shortly occur; this woman had herself thus foretold it.

And yet on the morrow he left this

[1] John xii. 1–11; Mark xiv. 3–9; Matt. xxvi. 6–13.

Bethany retreat to attempt a triumphal entrance. All the time he had this double thought: "I am to die, and yet I still hope."

He had foreseen everything, and prepared for it with equal care and prudence. It is very noteworthy that Jesus arranged this manifestation by himself alone, and without speaking of it beforehand to any of his apostles, even to those dearest to him. He desired to keep it secret to the last moment, and himself arranged its smallest details all unknown to his friends.

He had friends in Jerusalem who are still unknown to us, with whom, perhaps from motives of prudence, he had not even made his disciples acquainted. He had arranged with some of these that on the first day of the week, at a certain hour, an ass with her colt by her side should be fastened before a door at a certain crossway, in the hamlet of Bethphage, at the foot of the Temple wall. The place was visible at some distance from the top of the Mount of Olives, and when Jesus sent two of his disciples thither he could point out from afar the place where they would find the beasts. A signal had been

agreed upon, and the unknown friends who were to lend them to him were to let them go at the words "The Master hath need of them." This was in some sort a password which was to make them know that they were in presence of Jesus' messengers.

The two disciples did as they had been bid. They repeated the words and were able to carry out their mission. Jesus, who had awaited their return on the Mount of Olives, seated himself upon the animal and following the road that leads to the city, solemnly entered it. The Galileans, his disciples who had come to the feast, followed him with acclamations. Some had put their garments on the ass, as a sort of trappings, others had spread them upon the road; they carried palms and strewed them in the way, crying, "Hosanna! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" They expected thus to inaugurate the kingdom. Jesus permitted them to name him the national king, the King of Israel.[1]

A year ago he had rejected this title; now he accepts it, because the hour is

[1] Luke xix. 38.

come. The time is come to strike a great blow; it is at last time that his people come to a decision. If they welcome him, the kingdom will come, and his death will not be necessary.

Thus Jesus gave all possible publicity to this entrance into Jerusalem. It was an invitation to the multitude to recognize him, to welcome him, — some as the Messiah, others as the precursor of and preparer for the kingdom.

The Galileans, that is to say, his friends, those whom he had already gained, alone responded. They were enthusiastic, and the entrance of Jesus was certainly a triumph. But the procession included only these. Not one of the inhabitants of Jerusalem joined them.

According to the Fourth Gospel,[1] some of the Jerusalemites came out to meet Jesus; but they came only out of curiosity, and with no conception of what it was all about, for they asked, "Who is he?"[2] And the Galileans, and only they, replied, "It is Jesus, the prophet of Galilee."

Such was the scene.

[1] John xii. 18. [2] Matt. xxi. 10.

Let us insist upon the profound significance of this solemn act of Jesus.

On his part, the entrance into Jerusalem was a supreme attempt to be welcomed as the national Messiah, to convert the people, who might have chosen him as their head, in order to prepare them for the coming of the kingdom. We can only repeat here what we have several times said: up to his last hour, even in Gethsemane, Jesus believed that he might be recognized by his people as the Messiah whom they were awaiting, and hoped that thus a violent death might be avoided. The scene in Gethsemane, as we already pointed out in our first volume,[1] has no reasonable meaning if it is not to be thus explained. His sympathy with his people's hopes explains his attitude on Palm Sunday; he believed in a national messianic kingdom, and approved of his disciples believing in it. He might have checked that manifestation, might have hidden himself, as he had done the year before, on the lake side.[2] He not only did not do so, but it was he who had desired this man-

[1] See "Jesus Christ Before his Ministry," p. 153.

[2] John vi. 15.

ifestation, had arranged it, and prepared for it by himself alone, with the help of no one, not even of one of his apostles.

We know, then, what at this time was his whole thought as to the kingdom of God, and all that was said in the foregoing chapter concerning his final notion of the kingdom is fully confirmed.

Let it be clearly observed that Jesus never opposed the belief of his apostles in the speedy coming of a visible, external kingdom, that he never even rejected the idea of an external messianic domination. At the temptation he rejected a worldly domination which might be obtained only by homage to Satan; but he did not reject it in itself considered.

If Jesus accepted, without the slightest resistance, the ovations of his people, if he even sought them, it is because he accepted the idea of a national messianic kingdom; for he perfectly well knew that this was what those expected and proclaimed who sang "Hosanna!" and he accepted and approved of their homage. He had desired it, sought it; as clearly as possible he had invited the people to render homage to him. There was therefore no misunder-

standing between himself and those who welcomed him.

His conduct proves without question that he shared the hopes of his people, and looked upon himself as the king of a national messianic kingdom. The homage paid him and accepted by him were paid to the Jewish Messiah. To argue the contrary is to say — without a shadow of proof — that Jesus was playing a comedy of accommodation, — a comedy which he had himself planned and arranged!

In spite, then, of all his sinister premonitions of a possible and nearly approaching death, Jesus was still hoping that a kingdom might be established, purely religious and such as the prophets had described. He would found it by pacific means. A miracle from the Father would no doubt hasten its coming; as for him, it was in order to arouse a national sentiment that he acted as he did that day. He was a patriot, and he desired his country's glory.

Yes, I well know that death, a horrible death, was present to his mind; he had spoken of it to Mary the day before, at the feast in Bethany. The idea of it haunted

him; he had already thought that in it might lie the salvation of his people and of the world; for this salvation depended on his obedience, and his obedience would go as far as his Father willed that it should go. To renounce, to serve, to give himself, to give himself every day, even to the last sacrifice, if necessary, — this was his work, because the coming of the kingdom was on this condition; if he died, — well, life would come out of his death, as the wheat comes out of the seed after it has fallen into the ground and died; and in the soul of Jesus the thought of the approaching end, the dread, the almost certainty of death, and the opposing hope, hope invincible, hope against hope, dwelt side by side. It would all be as the Father willed. He must at this time have repeated and applied to himself the words he had formerly said: "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof; the morrow will take care for itself."[1]

In any case the kingdom, the true, final kingdom, was always in the future. Jesus no more founded it by entering Jerusalem riding on an ass, escorted by an enthu-

[1] Matt. vi. 34.

siastic crowd, than he had founded it before that time. He was preparing for its coming, and that is all.

On that day Jesus failed. He at once perceived it. Hardly had he set out for the city; while yet upon the Mount of Olives, at the moment when the Holy City first came into view, he had a clear view of what awaited him, and he shed tears. They were forced from him by grief for the incredulity of his people; at that moment he had a very clear perception that his hope would be snatched away from him. And yet he would go forward, he would permit the acclamations, he would make his appeal to the Jews; he would go on to the end, even while declaring that they would neither hear nor understand him.[1] This attitude is thoroughly human and easy to be understood. He was attempting a triumph, and at the very moment when he tasted of it he felt it escaping him. It was one more teaching added to so many others; he must die.

In fact his want of success was complete. In the enormous afflux of people

[1] Luke xix. 41 f.

in these days of festal preparation the little procession of Galileans passed almost unperceived. The people of Jerusalem did not in the least understand it, and did not even know who this triumphant hero was, or what was expected of him; Jerusalem had no love for provincials, least of all for those who came with a degree of local renown. The burghers of the city were thoroughly impregnated with the Sadducean spirit. Cold, prudent, circumspect, they were unwilling to be excited; they asked who was this Jesus, and the answer they received made them smile. A prophet, — from Nazareth, in Galilee. "No good thing could come out of Nazareth;" [1] and the little company was, so to speak, lost in the crowd which was thronging the streets and gateways.

All the Galilean lack of success was as nothing compared with this; Jesus had only succeeded in irritating his enemies the more. The Pharisees, as furious as the Sadducees, allied themselves with them against him; these irreconcilable enemies forgot their bitter hatred in the union of a common danger. They would

[1] John i. 47.

face it together, and take up their quarrels again after it was over. The death of Jesus had already been resolved upon as a principle, and now his attempt upon Jerusalem, his would-be triumph, was the last drop in a cup already over full: the matter must be carried through without delay.

On Wednesday a council was held in the palace of Joseph Caiaphas;[1] it was decided to arrest him.

To bring him to trial was to put him to death, for the law against sacrilege was excessively strict; death was its only possible penalty. The Sadducees felt no hesitation, being alarmed for themselves and their privileges. They were determined to push the matter to extremity, not merely because, as sceptics and aristocrats, any popular movement was displeasing to them, but because they felt their power threatened.

The power of the Sadducees, absolutely nothing in the country, was still very real in the Temple circles; the company of priests could be recruited only among them, and the priests were extremely useful personages. The priests, the Temple,

[1] Matt. xxvi. 1-5; Mark xiv. 1, 2; Luke xxii. 1, 2.

were a never-failing source of revenue for the city; the pilgrims who came thither in throngs brought with them much money. It was necessary then to get rid of this man.

The only preoccupation of the members of the council held at the High Priest's palace was to avoid all disturbance, all popular excitement. They therefore adopted a plan which from their point of view was very wise, — to postpone the execution of the warrant of arrest until after the Feast. The delay would be of only ten days at most, and it seemed imprudent to proceed earlier. They could not tell precisely how many partisans Jesus had in the city. They thought he had many. In this they were in error; but in any case the pilgrims from Galilee were for him, and to arrest him in the midst of the Feast would be to provoke an uprising.

As for Jesus, his faith in his work, in his Father, in himself, did not waver for a second. But he was forced to form a new plan.

First of all he would withdraw and conceal himself. He had said, "If they persecute you in one city, flee into another."[1]

[1] Matt. x. 23.

At a later time he would resume his ministry with his twelve apostles; for the time being it was his duty to evade his enemies, and with this he must first concern himself.

The very day of the triumphal entry, the first day of the week, he left the city as soon as evening closed in,[1] this time on foot, and went to pass the night in the beloved village Bethany. The next day he returned early to the city, and showed himself openly in the Temple, continuing his discourses and conversations, well knowing that no one would dare to arrest him in the porticos of the Temple in broad daylight. He was still hoping, and he persevered in his work; he would neither hasten the hour of the Father, nor hinder it from striking when it had arrived.

Jesus offers us the sublime and touching spectacle of perfect submission, the full obedience of each day, each minute. At the same time he was sad, sorrowful in this waiting and uncertainty; his presentiments were becoming ever more clearly

[1] I have shown that the purification of the Temple on that day is inadmissible. See "Jesus Christ During his Ministry," p. 130.

defined, and yet they were only presentiments; he passed through moments of dread, of agitation, of anguish. One day he was heard to cry, "My soul is troubled; Father, save me from this hour!"[1] He was still hoping, then; he said, "Save me!" He still believed that his death might be avoided; he asked this of his Father. Never was he more divine than in these hours of complete and real humanity.

[1] John xii. 27.

CHAPTER V

THE LAST DAYS

JESUS came into Jerusalem, then, on each one of the four days following his triumphal entry. He was proposing to keep the Passover there, as was his custom; he had the most vivid desire for this,[1] and the fact comes out with the clearest evidence that he was taken unawares by the events that followed. He had no suspicion, he could have had none, of the incredible rapidity with which they were rushing to a crisis.

How much did he know of the plots that were being formed against him? It is easy to conjecture. As we have said, it was on Wednesday that the decision to arrest and put him to death was definitively taken; but at the same time everything was postponed until after the Feast.

[1] Luke xxii. 15.

It was not merely an uprising of the people that the Sanhedrin feared, but also, perhaps, complications with the Roman power. Pilate was there, and it would be wise to wait until he was gone,[1] and the city had resumed its usual quiet and returned to its normal number of inhabitants.

It was then absolutely settled by the Sanhedrin that for the time being Jesus was not to be disturbed; he was to be arrested, with as little publicity as possible, as soon as the Feast days were over, the bulk of the pilgrims gone, especially the pilgrims from Galilee, and Pilate returned to Cæsarea. Then his trial should proceed according to the usual forms, which were very long and minute. All should be done with strict legality; Jesus should be condemned to death, and should die by stoning. All this had been intelligently ordered. It was thought, with reason, that to arrest Jesus when the city was crowded with strangers would be most imprudent; and as, on the other

[1] Pilate resided at Cæsarea, and came to Jerusalem only at times of the great feasts, precisely in order to keep down the disturbances which might occur on these occasions. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 18, 5, 3.

hand, it was forbidden to leave Jerusalem and return home before the Feast was entirely completed,[1] the Sanhedrin were nearly certain that their prey would not escape them.

Were all these plans and decisions of the assembly reported to Jesus? Since he had friends and acquaintances in Jerusalem, since he had secret disciples in the Sanhedrin itself, — Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus,[2] — it is very possible, even probable, that one of them had warned him that very Wednesday of all that had just been plotted.

This, then, was what Jesus therefore resolved: to remain quietly in Jerusalem as long as the Feast lasted, for it had been formally said, "Not during the feast days;"[3] to hasten away as soon as the days of unleavened bread were accomplished, and disappear for a time. He thought, perhaps, of hiding himself even from the Twelve, and as we shall presently see

[1] See "Palestine in the Time of Jesus Christ," p. 446.

[2] Mark xv. 43; Luke xxiii. 50; John iii. 1 ff., vii. 50 ff.

[3] Matt. xxvi. 5; Mark xiv. 2.

some reason for conjecturing, appointing a place of meeting them in Galilee at a later time. This plan might have been carried out but for the treachery of Judas. It was the Iscariot, the man of Kerioth, who brought about the arrest by the Sanhedrin during the Feast, and thus fixed the day of Jesus' death. We shall shortly see how.

Did Jesus know, as early as Wednesday, that one of his disciples had been seen in secret conference with certain members of the Sanhedrin? It is quite possible. He certainly had his suspicions; the very next day he said, "One of you shall betray me,"[1] but he had no material proof such as would permit him openly to point out the traitor.

Meanwhile, with much prudence and wisdom, he took the most minute precautions for his personal safety during the last days of his life; and it seems entirely probable that but for the infamous conduct of Judas he might have escaped his enemies. His measures were so well taken that nothing less than the treachery of one

[1] Matt. xxvi. 21; Mark xiv. 18; Luke xxii. 21; John xiii. 21.

of the Twelve themselves was needed for his apprehension.

He never passed a night in Jerusalem. A surprise while he and his disciples were sleeping in the common chamber of some unnamed friend would have been easy enough. Therefore he quitted the city every evening, and slept in some suburban farm. It is probable that he often changed his shelter, and never mentioned beforehand which one he would choose.

However this may have been, there was one whither he went, if not every evening, at least somewhat often,[1] no doubt because it appeared to him to be particularly safe. It was an orchard belonging to a farm devoted to the production of olive oil. An oil press was one of its dependencies, and near the oil press was a pleasure house, a sort of villa.[2] The property belonged to a friend of Jesus, a secret disciple, of whom there were many around him in his last days.

In this orchard Jesus often passed the early hours of the night with his disciples.

[1] Luke xxii. 39; John xviii. 2.

[2] This is the meaning of χωρίον. Matt. xxvi. 36; Mark xiv. 32.

It was a refuge where he could collect his thoughts and pray in all security; for the Twelve alone knew of this retreat, and thus far none of them had inspired the slightest distrust.

Later in the evening he would climb the closely wooded, thickly peopled Mount, on which several houses offered him a secure shelter. The fig-trees, the palms, the olive-trees gave their names to these villages, farmsteads, suburbs of the city, — Bethphage, Gethsemane, Bethany.

At the top of the Mount was the country-house of the famous Annas; he also had bazaars there, — four shops placed under two great cedars.[1] Jesus knew well all these environs of the city, and could easily conceal himself among them.

But the safest of all these retreats was that of Gat-Chamena[2] (Gethsemane), of which mention has already been made, for it was probably the only one which was known only to the Twelve and the friend who owned it. It is possible that Jesus

[1] Jerus. *Taanith*, 4, 8.

[2] *Gat*, press, *chamena*, oil. Now Dschesmanyé (Matt. xxvi. 36; Mark xiv. 32); Gethsemanei in the Greek of the Gospels.

and the apostles sometimes passed the whole night there, either wrapped in their mantles, under the trees, or in the house itself.

By day Jesus feared nothing; he was convinced, as we have said, that during the Feast he would surely not be arrested in open day in the publicity of the Temple. That he did not at once return to Galilee was because he greatly desired to keep the Passover at Jerusalem. It would have been the first time that he had failed to observe this touching custom of his people, and he could all the less bring himself to give it up, since he was in comparative security during all the days of unleavened bread.

Therefore, but for Judas, nothing would have happened, at least at this time.

What manner of man was this Judas? How could one of the apostles, one who had believed, one whom Jesus had chosen, upon whom he had counted, one who certainly had his good qualities, or Jesus would not have designed him for the apostolate, — how could he have fallen to this last infamy, to betray Jesus? The atrocity of his act is so great as to seem at

first incomprehensible. A truly terrible change must have been going on in his mind, especially during the first days of this week, or at least on the Thursday, when he made his horrible resolve.

The attempt has been made to find special motives for the betrayal; the Fourth Gospel speaks of his avarice, and even says that he was a thief. He may have been cheating Jesus for some time past, appropriating to himself a portion of the gifts made to the common purse; and thus, little by little, he may have been led away by avarice. Being the cashier of the community, he may have desired to have more money than he could possess while remaining a member of it. This is no doubt a possible explanation, but after all there is a long distance between the most shameless cupidity and the betrayal of one's master, the betrayal of Jesus.

It has been supposed that, seeing in Jesus the national Messiah, and dissatisfied because he did not make some splendid manifestation of himself, Judas had thought to force him to declare himself by giving him up to the Sanhedrin, thus hemming him in a corner from which he would find

a way of escape by a brilliant miracle. The supposition is charitable but inadmissible.

What! Judas could have still been a believer! He could have betrayed Jesus by reason of a sort of unbalanced faith in him! The supposition is wholly absurd, for if he had still believed Jesus to be the true Messiah he would have left him to carry out his own plans, and would not have dreamed of constraining him. No; when Judas betrayed Jesus he no longer considered him to be the true Messiah, he no longer believed in him.

But does his loss of faith entirely suffice to explain his treachery? We do not think so. Having ceased to believe, he had but to withdraw from the company of the Twelve and return to obscurity; or if he wished to oppose Jesus, he should have done it to his face, without concealment. His loss of faith does not explain his profiting by his position as privileged member of the college of the Twelve to betray his former Master.

How was it possible that he could remain an apostle, continue to call Jesus Rabbi, play the comedy of fidelity and even of

affection to the very last day? This last extreme of perfidy is perfectly certain, entirely historic, but to this day it remains enigmatical from very frightfulness. Of all acts of this kind, the act of Judas is certainly one of the most appalling in its revelation of the degree of baseness to which man may descend.

And yet there are examples of similar acts of treachery. There are sometimes found in secret societies — the observation has often been made — members who become Judases, who take upon themselves to be denunciators. They are to be found among the most ardent, whose enthusiasm has received a check. Traitors are not infrequent in clandestine associations.

It is perhaps here that we must seek the true explanation, for the act that took place here is evidently of this order. From a zealot Judas became a traitor. He was one of the fanatics of the little community, one who was planning great changes, forming grand projects; and suddenly this fanatic turned upon the community and denounced its head. A phenomenon of this sort has its psychological explanation, and it is verified by history.

In the case which concerns us here, we can up to a certain point discover the cause of the atrocious change in Judas. It is not enough to say that he loved money; not much better to say that he had lost his faith. What seems to us to have taken place in the soul of this man is this: Judas had proclaimed the gospel, he had cast out demons, he had looked forward to the kingdom and prepared for its coming. From the first hour he had been an enthusiast. And, after all, nothing that he was expecting had taken place; and instead of believing for all that, like Peter and the others, and yielding himself to the unwavering influence of Jesus' faith, which no exterior events ever had power to unsettle, he permitted himself to be influenced by events, to be dominated by them. After having like the others expected a throne from which to judge one of the twelve tribes, he had ceased to expect anything; he had fallen from these lofty heights, and the fall had been terrible.

In this mood of mind he had heard the Master speak of renunciation, sacrifice, a violent death; he had seen the fruitless triumph of Palm Sunday. Jesus had

not been acclaimed, the priests were against him, the city was indifferent! If the others remained faithful to him, it was only because they were attached to Jesus' person; but to believe in his Messianic claim was to be deluded indeed. If they were still under the influence of his claim, he, Judas, was so no longer. What! he saw Jesus taking precautions, seeking to avoid his enemies, hiding himself from death! Oh, now he hated him, hated him for having deceived him, for having charmed, enchanted him, hated him for the delusion in which for nearly three years he had held him; the thought was agony that he had once believed and permitted himself to be deluded through his belief. And so at last he came to hate even to death him who had thus disappointed his hopes! And from this hate he drew strength to put on a semblance of fidelity until he should have given him up to death. Add to this a sort of fear that took possession of him, of being involved in difficulties with the Jewish authorities if anything happened to Jesus. He must dissociate himself from him; let him place himself on the side of the strongest.

This is certainly what took place in Judas. His hatred of Jesus impelled him to go to the Sanhedrin and say, "I will give him up to you if you will pay me for it."[1] It is easy to understand the meaning of this remark. Judas knew that the Sanhedrin dared not arrest Jesus before the last day of the Feast, and he said to them, "It is risky to wait; he may go away before the close of the Feast, he may escape you. If you wish, I will show you his hiding-place. The Twelve alone know it, and I am one of the Twelve. I will choose my own time for it, the very best possible. One of these nights I will come to you, and will clandestinely guide the men whom you will send to take him." Judas must have made his proposition in these terms, and it was received with eagerness.

That Jesus died at this time is therefore due to Judas. Judas accepted money in exchange;[2] then quietly, still keeping up

[1] Matt. xxvi. 15.

[2] A sum of a little more than one hundred francs, equivalent in actual value to five or six hundred francs of our money (one hundred or one hundred and twenty dollars).

the appearance of fidelity, he sought a favorable occasion, a propitious night.

The imagination is bewildered by the infamy of this man. He had fallen to this point; so much is certain, and it is so monstrous that we can understand those who, in pity for the wretch, have sought for extenuating circumstances; but there are none.

It was Wednesday, the eve of the day on which the Passover must be eaten, and Jesus decided to give orders for the preparation of the paschal meal. To this end he doubled his precautions. This was necessary, for on that evening he would not be able to leave Jerusalem as early as usual. The paschal meal was a long one; it closed with the singing of several psalms, and it would not be possible to leave the city before ten or eleven o'clock at the earliest.

Jesus made arrangements with a friend whom the apostles themselves did not know; in this matter he acted as he had acted with regard to his entrance into Jerusalem. Having reason to suspect some one of the Twelve, he told none of them in advance; but it had been decided that at a certain hour in the course of

Thursday this friend would send some one, doubtless one of his servants, to a place agreed upon, and that, as a means of recognition, this person should carry a pitcher of water.

Two of the apostles, sent by Jesus, were to recognize him by this sign, and to follow him without speaking. Following him, they were to enter the house which he entered, and there, safe from indiscreet observers, they would be brought before the master of the house, to whom they were to say: "The Rabbi says, 'Where is my chamber, where I may eat the Passover with my disciples?'"[1] The master would then show them a large chamber, a dining-room furnished with rugs, couches, and all that was necessary for a meal.

In thus confiding in only three persons, the master of the house and two apostles of whom he was entirely sure, Peter and John, Jesus could be certain that this house would not be pointed out to the emissaries of the Sanhedrin, and that in it he might pass a few quiet hours.[2]

[1] Mark xiv. 13, 14.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 1 ff.; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7 ff.; John xiii. 1 ff.

Everything took place as had been foreseen. The two designated disciples prepared the Passover, and Thursday evening having come, the Master and the twelve apostles repaired to the appointed house.[1]

[1] A grave question arises here. Was it indeed the Jewish Passover which Jesus celebrated on this night, eating the paschal lamb with his disciples? It is evident that we have here two historic problems to solve. The first is the nature of the meal partaken of by Jesus on Thursday, the evening before his death: was it at an ordinary meal that Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper, or was it after celebrating the Jewish Passover that he instituted the Christian Passover? The second problem is that of date. Was this Thursday the 13th or the 14th Nisan, and Jesus being crucified on the next day, Friday, was he crucified on the 14th or the 15th?

We shall not go over the history of these two questions, which have been answered now in one way, now in another, and always with plausible arguments in favor of the solution proposed. If it is decided that Jesus kept the feast of the Jewish Passover, with all his race, on the 14th Nisan, and that this date fell on Thursday, the Fourth Evangelist is in error, for he gives the date of the supper as the 13th Nisan, and speaks not of the Passover, but of an ordinary meal; further, he says that Jesus was crucified in the afternoon of the 14th, at the hour when in the Temple the lambs were being slain that were to be eaten by the Jewish families that same evening.

Notwithstanding the great value which we attach to the historic statements of the Fourth Evangelist, we believe that he is here in error, and we accept the Synoptic tradition that Jesus celebrated the Jewish

Passover on Thursday, which in that year fell on the 14th, and that he was crucified on the 15th Nisan.

One principal motive is the indisputable authenticity of the details given by the Synoptics as to what occurred at this paschal feast. The story of the mysterious preparations, as they have just been reviewed, was not invented, and such an utterance as "With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer" (Luke xxii. 15) is certainly authentic.

The only real difficulty is that Jesus should have been crucified on the great day of the Feast, since, as is supposed, a capital execution was impossible on that day. This difficulty has appeared to be so great that it has been supposed that Jesus, celebrating the Jewish Passover, antedated by a day the custom of his people, and ate the paschal lamb twenty-four hours earlier than the other Jews; but this supposition is wholly inadmissible. The paschal lamb was never slain in the Temple before the appointed day; it would have been a sort of sacrilege. Furthermore, Jesus had no motive for anticipating the day, since he did not certainly know that his death was imminent.

There remains the supposed impossibility of a capital execution on the 15th Nisan: there was no such impossibility.

The 15th of Nisan was indeed the first day of the Feast, and it is very true that the repose of this day was observed as strictly as that of the Sabbath. It is difficult to picture to one's self the rigor with which the cessation of all work on that day was regulated: it was a capital crime to kill even an insect. It is impossible then to admit that the Jews could have proceeded to an execution. In saying all this, only one thing has been overlooked, that is, that it was not the Jews who put Jesus to death, but the Romans; and the latter would not be in the least displeased at pouring ridicule

upon the Jews by crucifying one of them on the very day of the Feast. Pilate, who took special pains to mock the Sadducees by affecting to call Jesus their king, and to insist upon his royalty in the inscription placed above his head, might very easily have pushed the raillery which was intended to vex them so far as to make a special point of crucifying Jesus immediately after his condemnation, on the very day of the Feast, the day when Jerusalem was most crowded. Yes; it is very true that the Jews executed no one on a feast day; but the cross was not a Jewish mode of execution, it was exclusively Roman. Thus a difficulty which to many still seems to be insurmountable is entirely removed.

Besides, occur when it might, the execution of Jesus was a very small matter. Nothing was more common at that time than executions commanded and carried out by the Romans. Thirty years before, Varus had caused two thousand insurgents to be crucified. During the war of the year 70, Titus crucified five hundred prisoners a day. In the face of such facts what was the crucifixion of three men only?

Finally, it has not been considered that a crucifixion would have been much more difficult on the eve of the 15th, in the afternoon of the day when the lambs were being slain in the Temple, than on the day following. On the afternoon of the 14th the entire population was occupied with preparations for the great festival of the evening, and much more absorbed by the latter than by anything that could occur the next morning, the 15th, when they had so much the less to do because on that day rest was absolute.

Let us further notice that when Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, and the holy women were preparing the body of Jesus for burial, they all hastened the work because the Sabbatic rest was about to begin (Mark xv.

42 f. *et parall.*), and not at all because they were in haste to go to eat the paschal lamb with their families. They had eaten it on Thursday evening. The sacred feast had already been celebrated.

For us, then, this much-controverted question is settled.

It results, therefore, that St. John was mistaken. Whence could his error have arisen? It is due to a dogmatic prepossession. He who usually is so exact when he traces the outlines of the life of Jesus, and whose chronology is generally worthy of confidence, is much less so when he gives precise figures. Thus he says that when Pilate took his seat upon his tribunal and presented Jesus to the crowd with the words, "Behold your king," it was noon (John xix. 14). Without any doubt he is mistaken; and the Synoptic tradition, which places the crucifixion at nine o'clock and the death of Jesus at three in the afternoon, appears to be more worthy of confidence. It is entirely impossible that Jesus, presented to the people at noon, could have been condemned, led away to execution, crucified, and buried before sunset of the same day. What, then, is the dogmatic prepossession of the Fourth Evangelist? This: he shows Jesus as put upon the cross on the 13th Nisan, at the very hour when the paschal lambs were slain, because he sees a connection between the two acts. In his mind Jesus is "the Lamb who takes away the sins of the world" (John i. 29). His intention here is too evident to permit us, on this point, to give historic value to his testimony.

CHAPTER VI

THE LAST EVENING

WE have arrived, therefore, at Thursday evening, April 6, of the year 30, according to a chronological calculation which, though not entirely certain, has important elements of probability. According to the Jewish calendar, as we have shown, it was the 14th Nisan, the sacred evening which Jesus piously celebrated every year.

The apostles and the Master were half extended, in Oriental fashion, upon cushions and rugs.[1] Jesus, presiding by right, broke the great flat cakes which served for bread, the dough of which had not fermented; he piled the broken pieces one upon another. Before the Master, cut into equal pieces, was the lamb which the two disciples whom Christ had chosen had caused to be killed a few hours earlier.

[1] Mark xiv. 15.

It had been roasted; and beside this dish of meat was a dish of lettuce or wild chicory, called "the dish of bitter herbs." Finally there was the *charoseth*, the sauce, of a reddish color, in which each in turn dipped his piece of unleavened bread. Four times Jesus passed the cup around. After the first, they sang together the first part of the Hallel;[1] after the fourth, they sang the second part,[2] intoning the sacred words with full voices and full hearts.

Yet Jesus felt the darkest forebodings. All possibility of escape seemed to him to be lost. If it was known that he was there, in that house, that, contrary to his habit, he had not left the city at nightfall, how easy it would be to arrest him!

And then, to go away, to put himself out of the reach of his enemies, would be merely an expedient. Oh, this Passover which he had so desired to celebrate without hindrance![3] It had come now! But afterward? How much longer would he still be there? The new year just opening (for the religious year begins at this time, according to the Jewish calendar)

[1] Psalms cxiii., cxiv. [2] Psalms cxv., cxviii.
[3] Luke xxii. 15 f.

would not find him there at its close. And yet he was sustained by his indomitable hope; never had he been firmer in his faith. The kingdom would shortly appear; he would not again drink of this fruit of the vine, this Passover wine, before the banquet of the kingdom.[1]

So with the lamb and the unleavened bread, he was not again to eat them until the coming of the kingdom. He expected the kingdom then, that very year; he who knew not the hour appears in this place to point out at least the year, that very year. Then he spoke of the festival that was to come; the apostles were to be seated at his table, in his kingdom, and very soon the Twelve would be sitting on thrones, at his side,[2] judging the twelve tribes. He then had perfect faith in his work, and all the hopes that he had thus far cherished were still his.

He spoke also of his sufferings. He had desired to celebrate this Passover "before he suffered." Ah, how clearly he saw what great sufferings were awaiting him! But anything so unforeseen as a sudden

[1] Matt. xxvi. 29; Mark xiv. 25; Luke xxii. 18.

[2] Luke xxii. 29, 30.

arrest that very night, followed by condemnation and immediate execution all in less than twenty-four hours, was far from his thought. We offer only one proof of this: in the first century a criminal process was not thus conducted; the guilty were never arrested, judged, and condemned the same day, especially not in the night. The existing law formally opposed it. It was obligatory that twenty-four hours should elapse between the judgment and the giving of sentence.[1] Who then would have supposed that in this case the law would be broken, that Jesus would be put to death more after the manner of an assassination than of a lawful execution?

We have said that it was Judas, by the decision which he made that very evening in the upper chamber, who fixed the day of Jesus' death, or at least the night of his arrest. It was he who, by going to the Sanhedrin that very night, caused them to modify their plan of waiting, caused them to hasten things to such a point that,

[1] At least so affirms the Mishna. *Sanhed.* iv. 1, 2, v. 1, iv. 3 *et passim.* There remains still a doubt, however, since Moses commanded the stoning of the seducer of his people even without trial (Deut. xiii. 1 ff.).

though on Thursday evening Jesus was still at liberty, at sunset of Friday he was already buried.

Two interests occupied Jesus during that evening, — his sufferings and his kingdom. His disciples were to remain humble and insignificant, as a preparation for the kingdom; there must be no struggle for precedence; their present duty was to serve.[1] At this point St. John preserves a particularly touching detail. Jesus washed his disciples' feet before sitting down to table with them; showing them by a symbolic act what they were to understand by service. He told Peter that he should soon perceive the significance of this act, evidently alluding to an approaching humiliation, a supreme service, perhaps a sacrifice. He would obey as far as the Father should bid him obey.

At another moment he said that it was needful that they should provide themselves with swords.[2] He asked the apostles if they had wanted for anything when in Galilee he had sent them on a mission

[1] Luke xxii. 24, 27. Cf. John xiii. 4 ff.

[2] Luke xxii. 35–38.

bidding them take neither purse, nor scrip, nor a change of footwear. "We wanted for nothing," replied the disciples. "But now," added Jesus, "let him who has a purse take it, and likewise him who has a scrip; and he who has no sword, let him sell his cloak and buy one, for I say unto you, that this Scripture must be fulfilled in me, And he was numbered with the transgressors. For the things which concern me are drawing to an end." The apostles produced two swords which they had with them: one was Peter's, the other belonged to one of his fellow disciples. "Lord, here are two swords." "It is enough," replied Jesus.

What does this mean? Jesus speaking of buying swords to defend themselves and him! And when they show him two, declaring that two will be enough! They would not have been enough if he had really intended to seek the defence of arms; and he knew it well, since he had just asked them all to arm themselves, saying that he preferred a sword even to a cloak, a necessary garment! All this is highly inexplicable. It is probable that the reminiscences of the witnesses are

not very clear on this point; they recall a dialogue which their memories have only half preserved.

This is not surprising. At a later time the apostles recalled to mind this last meal, and understood its exceptional grandeur, which they had not at the time perceived, believing that Jesus was yet to be for a long time with them. The memory of this evening then became precious above all others, as the last hours spent with a beloved friend are always precious when he has been suddenly taken away from us. We seek to recall every one of the words of that last day; we take note of everything, fragments of phrases return to our memories, and rather than one should be lost, we preserve phrases which do not easily fit into others, and often are not easy to understand.

No doubt Jesus told his disciples that the situation was no longer what it had been in Galilee; that they must give up the Essenian customs in which they had lived from day to day, with no change of garments, and no arms for self-defence against probable attacks of robbers when on their journeys. Was his thought about

swords connected with the dangers with which the near future threatened himself? Perhaps. But when he said that two swords were enough, it was with the meaning "are useless;" it was an ironical phrase, meaning "That will do, let it go." Jesus certainly had no desire that they should make use of swords; he had no thought of an armed defence, if he and his friends should be surprised by an ambush. Such a thing would be so contrary to all that we know of him, that we cannot bring ourselves to admit it.

Jesus then at once abandoned his first thought of buying swords; it was a mere fleeting impulse. Peter, however, declared that, if necessary, he would die for him, saying, "I will never be offended."[1] Jesus, who knew him, and was aware how completely he yielded to the impulse of the moment, declared that he would go so far as to deny him, even to deny him three times — that is to say, several times — if the occasion presented itself. Peter protested, and the ten others who heard him protested in their turn.[2]

[1] Matt. xxvi. 33; Mark xiv. 29.

[2] In Hebrew the number three is indeterminate and

What else took place that evening? The apostles remembered afterward that Jesus had been oppressed by the thought that there was a traitor among them, and that he had said, "One of you will betray me."[1] When he uttered the words Judas remained unmoved. John, at a sign from Peter, asked, "Who is he?" Jesus, who merely had his suspicions, simply gave to Judas a bit of bread dipped in the *charoseth*, saying in a low tone, "Observe to whom I give this."

Not long after Judas went out; he was going to propose to the priests that he should immediately conduct them to the hiding-place at Gethsemane and arrest Jesus. It is possible that he perceived that his former Master had found him out, and that he feared to be too late if he did not act at once. In any case it is certain that even while Christ was in the very act

signifies several (2 Cor. xii. 8). Ought this saying of Peter to be placed later, on the way to Gethsemane, and was it only then that Peter protested his devotion to his Master? We cannot tell; this detail is one of those upon the order of which the Gospels are not in harmony.

[1] Matt. xxvi. 21–25; Mark xiv. 18–21; Luke xxii. 21–23; John xiii. 21–30.

of discerning and almost proclaiming his infamy, Judas was able to maintain the tranquil bearing of the criminal who coldly calculates and chooses his time.

As to Jesus, it is very evident that he had only a suspicion; if he had felt entire certainty, if he had known in advance that Judas was to betray him that very night, he would not, by silence, have given him the means of accomplishing his crime; to have done so would have been to become his accomplice. He had, therefore, only a suspicion, a dread, a painful apprehension; and if Judas went out at that precise moment, it was because the idea of betraying Jesus that very night suddenly swept over his mind.

He calculated his time: at such an hour Jesus would leave the house; at such another he would be in the olive garden, his usual retreat; there was not a minute to lose.

When the traitor had gone out, Jesus began to talk, and he talked a long time. St. John has preserved for us the echo of his words, but only their echo; for we must look for the words themselves behind the Johannean form and the habitual

amplifications of the writer of the Fourth Gospel. Nevertheless these three chapters (xiv., xv., xvi.) and the sacerdotal prayer (chapter xvii.) are full of expressions that are certainly authentic, both as to their meaning and as to their very form. Though we have only their echo, it is a singularly faithful echo, notwithstanding that all these chapters are Johannified, if we may use the expression. As Clement of Alexandria has said, "The first evangelists gave us the letter of the story, St. John expressed its spirit." To say even this is not to say enough; here and there in the farewell discourse of chapters xiv., xv., xvi. we find the very letter itself. The prediction of the coming of the Holy Spirit, that of persecutions to come, the counsel as to the conduct they were to follow when he should be no longer there, are very certainly the words of Jesus. We must not only accept the general spirit of this discourse, but a great number of its utterances; for example, these: "Love one another, as I have loved you;" "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another;" "I call you not servants, but I call you friends;" and

many other similar expressions which tradition did not invent, any more than it invented the incident of Jesus washing the apostles' feet. If not on that evening, at least on one of these last days, he repeated a saying that he had already uttered: "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and he that will lose his life shall save it." This aphorism is certainly by Jesus, and when he uttered it anew, before his suffering, he was thinking of himself as well as of his disciples. It is not sufficiently recognized that Jesus must first have made application to himself of most of his precepts. They came out of the depths of his own personal experience; he had lived them; and he gave them to his disciples only after having personally tested their truth, and found their application in his own life.[1]

[1] With regard to the Johannean form in which the Fourth Gospel clothes the words of Jesus, let us consider how the author of this book wrote it. He desires to make a faithful, vivid, authentic portrait of Jesus; and to this end he composes, putting into the lips of Jesus words which he did not actually speak, but which he might have spoken; and he makes him do things which he did not always actually do, but which he might have done, and which are therefore in the writer's eyes

What else was he thinking? One utterance has been preserved to us which seems to show his thoughts with regard to the future: "After I am risen again I will go

as if he had done them. He desires to give an idea of what was said and done, — or of what might have been said and done, for the two were one in his mind, — by "the Word made flesh and dwelling among us, full of grace and truth" (John i. 14); and he shows him speaking and working. Thus it is with the farewell discourse in the upper chamber. The sublime unknown who was the friend of St. John, and who received from him most of the historic details of his narrative, the mystic of the school of Ephesus, who wrote the Fourth Gospel, desires to show us Jesus at that solemn hour. He enters, therefore, into his frame of mind, says only what Jesus might have said, and he is certain to have given us a very faithful and entirely authentic picture of the state of his soul. Every word that he puts into his lips expresses what Jesus thought, felt, and experienced at this solemn hour. It is to this end that he makes him utter these words to himself. In our day we go to work in another way. When we write a biography, we write it as objectively as possible, and when we publish the words of a man who is no more, we add nothing to those which he left behind; we respect the incomplete and even incorrect phrases which remain to us from him, and are scrupulous not to modify them in any manner whatever. To attribute to him words or acts which were not his would be to produce a work in the highest degree apocryphal. The writer of the Fourth Gospel had an entirely different notion of what a biography ought to be. He gave another sense than ours to the words *historical* and *authentic;* that is all.

before you into Galilee."[1] We have already alluded to this. What does it mean? Shall we see in it a plan already formed to leave his apostles, to change his plans, to vanish for a time from view? Perhaps; in any case, is it not permitted to conclude from these words that shortly before his death, but not knowing death to be so near, Jesus had resolved to escape from his enemies by hiding himself for a time, retiring into some solitude unknown to any one, even to the Twelve? When telling them in veiled language of this approaching withdrawal of himself, he would also appoint a meeting for a later time, in Galilee, and even "upon a mountain" in Galilee, a mountain which he would expressly designate,[2] although in the words spoken in the upper room nothing was said about a mountain. Then, after a temporary retreat, when the passions now raging about him should have been calmed, they would meet, and together resume their common work.[3]

[1] Matt. xxvi. 32; Mark xiv. 28.

[2] Matt. xxviii. 16.

[3] Matt. xxvi. 30–32; Mark xiv. 26–28, xvi. 7; Matt. xxviii. 7, 10, 16.

It seems to us in fact probable, if not certain, that in the words, "I will go before you into Galilee," we have a fragment of an utterance of Jesus appointing a place of meeting with the apostles after a temporary separation rendered necessary by the plots of his adversaries. In any case, he gave them a positive appointment; and the apostles, recalling these words to mind at a later day, very naturally took them for a prophecy of his resurrection.

CHAPTER VII

THE LORD'S SUPPER

THERE was for the disciples one moment least of all to be forgotten in this never-to-be-forgotten evening, — that of the institution of the Eucharist.

Jesus had long thought of such a thing.[1] It might even be asked whether he did not earlier institute this sacred rite, and whether the apostles, by a very natural optical illusion, which has already been observed, did not at a later time place it in this last evening. But the testimony of St. Paul is explicit. Jesus instituted the Eucharist "on the night in which he was betrayed."[2]

Baptism was not so much a new institution as a ceremony, which he permitted to remain after modifying it, for baptism

[1] See "Jesus Christ During his Ministry," pp. 171 ff. and pp. 215, 216.

[2] 1 Cor. xi. 23.

was practised before Jesus Christ came.[1] The Lord's Supper was really a new creation.[2]

By what steps did Jesus come to the institution of this ceremony, and to its institution on that very day? This is what we have now to ask.

The work of regenerating his people, the work of preparing by repentance and poverty of spirit for the coming of the kingdom, had failed. The tears which Jesus shed the day of his entrance into Jerusalem had been wrung from him by the contrast between what was and what might have been. What was, — the acclamations of children, of friends of Galilean peasants, the mass of the people indifferent, the Pharisees more and more hostile.

The kingdom would come by and by; he would inaugurate it on his return; but now, just now, what ought he to do? He must always be preparing for the coming of the kingdom — that was his mission,

[1] See, on baptism and its origin, "Palestine in the Time of Jesus Christ," pp. 197, 377.

[2] It, however, may also be connected by filiation with the meals of the Pharisaic confraternities, as we shall presently show.

and he had never for an instant doubted his mission; but would not his people always reject him, whatever he might do? It seemed so to him; from this time he became more and more convinced that it was so.

On the other hand, Judaism appeared to be certainly passing away; the time-worn routine, the debased priesthood, the Law changed into casuistry, the mechanical ritualism of formalistic institutions, — all these must pass away. Jesus continually felt himself to be more and more outside of these things and entirely above them; the old Covenant was subverted; a new Covenant was needed between God and men.

He knew the passage in Jeremiah about the new Covenant.[1] It was for him to fulfil this prophecy, for him to found this new covenant.

Up to this time his originality had consisted in teaching that the kingdom of God is prepared for by a change in men's hearts, and not by waiting, as did the Jews, for a sudden catastrophe, giving the kingdom to the elect people as of

[1] Jer. xxxi. 31 ff.

right; now, like Jeremiah, he declared — and it is always the same order of ideas — that the covenant would be in the heart, that the new law would be written in the hearts of men.

But he had believed that he could bring about this covenant by his preaching, and now he saw that the change of men's hearts must be sealed with his blood.

If he had lost his Jewish faith, he still did not condemn the religion of his people in the sense of deeming it to be bad in itself. It was the starting-point of the new law, the origin of what he was about to found, the preparation for it.

He must do this foundation work at once, for his death was now certain. He hoped indeed that arrest might be avoided; and yet — could they not find him wherever he might be? And what would become of his disciples? Would not they be discouraged? He must be put to death. This "must," which during the last few months he had so often repeated, rose up anew before him. "Father, thy will, not mine." Ah, in this filial submission he never wavered, and these words, which would shortly sum up his

last prayer, were always in his heart; for they were the inspiring principle of his whole life, they had been his law from the first, from the days of his pious childhood in Nazareth.

As to his future triumph and that of his work, he still believed in it; he was as sure of it now as in his time of success in Galilee; he had predicted triumph, and he still predicted it. But since he must first die, and since it was necessary that his disciples should remain bound to him, that his disciples' faith in him should abide, or if it must pass through an eclipse, that it should again become what it had been, he instituted the Holy Communion. It would be a ceremony that they could observe during his absence; when he was no longer with them it would recall his presence and take the place of it.

The pictorial language which he had so often used was to be used yet once again, and this time it would be a parable in action. When he should be no longer there it was needful that his own should live with him in thought, that his example, especially the example of his sacrifice, should be daily before their eyes; and he

perceived that meal-time was the best time for them to commemorate his presence.

In fact, when they should come together for the common meal and find their Master's place empty, would not their meeting be bitterly sad? Would not the memory of the meals of former days, of those joyful hours of confidence, come back as a heavy weight upon their hearts? Well, at such times they must do as if he were still there; better still he would be there, present in their midst, for they would have assembled in his name;[1] he would not leave them orphans, he would come to them,[2] and their sorrow should be changed into joy.[3]

During these three years, the happiest hour of the day for Master and disciples had been that of the common meal; they must keep it up; it must be their hour of intimate fellowship; and every day, when they took this meal, they must eat the bread and drink the wine in memory of him.

Yet more: the bread, necessarily broken before being eaten, the wine, necessarily

[1] Matt. xviii. 20. [2] John xiv. 18.
[3] John xvi. 20.

poured out before being drunk, would remind them of their Master's sacrifice; his death, his shed blood.

And finally, when they ate the one and drank the other, they should be fed by him; they should commune with him; his person would be present to them, his example would be living before their eyes. Far from being saddened by this sacred meal, they would draw from it an immense spiritual power.

They were to renew this act every time they took a meal in common, and keep it up until their Master came again; for he would come again.

"I will come again! I will come again!" Who shall say what these words, repeated by Jesus from the depth of his soul, with unwavering conviction, brought him of joy and strength in the last dark hours!

Thus, then, Jesus told his disciples that while waiting for the kingdom of God in which they should drink new wine, and during the period that separated his death from his coming again, they were to recall his person to mind every time they took a meal together, were to put themselves in spiritual communion with him by think-

ing of his return and of that blessed day, when forever reunited they should enjoy the eternal banquet in the kingdom of the Father.

Thus understood, the words of institution seem to us very clear. "This is my body, this is my blood;"[1] "The blood of the new Covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sin."[2]

To the Hebrew the blood was the seat of life. To pour out one's blood was to die, to give one's life. The expression flesh and blood (*bachar vedam;* in Greek, *σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα*, or *αἷμα καὶ σάρξ*, flesh and blood)[3] was a locution frequently employed by the rabbins for the entire person, the whole living man. The Eucharist was then in the thought of Jesus the sensible image of the gift of his entire being; but he never considered his death as a Levitical sacrifice. He simply said: "I give my-

[1] Without verb in Aramaic. Literally, Jesus said: "This, my body; this, my blood."

[2] Here we cite Matthew (xxvi. 28) without asking which of the four texts (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul) is the best, for all four differ, and the problem is practically insoluble.

[3] See Matt. xvi. 17; Gal. i. 16; 1 Cor. xv. 50; Heb. ii. 14, etc.

self, body and soul; I sacrifice myself, and this sacrifice creates a new Covenant, a new relation between God and man. By this Covenant sins shall be remitted, pardoned, effaced." The old Covenant was sealed with blood; the new one should be also; and it was his own blood, his, Jesus' blood, which should seal it with this final and sacred seal.

His blood was shed for the remission of sins; that is to say, God would remit the sins of those who were united by faith with their crucified Saviour.

The institution of the Eucharist is therefore explained by the desire of Jesus to perpetuate his memory and to remain alive in the thoughts of his own; and if he chose this form of repast, it was not simply because of the touching symbolism of the bread broken and eaten, of the wine poured out and drunk by all of them, but also because before all other times he preferred the precious moment of the common meal.

The Jewish Passover had always been the type of their family dinners, because with it was mingled a religious and patriotic souvenir. In fact, the simple everyday meal was always for an Israelite a

beloved time. The Jews cared greatly for these family gatherings, and the Pharisees used to form spiritual fraternities, with a common meal and conversations on religious subjects.[1]

Jesus and the Twelve had formed one of these associations, perfectly united and perfectly happy. At a later time, when the apostles desired to recall the memory of their Master as they had known and loved him, they would not first think of him as healing the sick or preaching on the mountain. It was not the picture of Jesus casting out demons and inspiring the multitudes with enthusiasm that would first present itself to their eyes; they would see him breaking the bread at the evening meal, in the upper chamber, when the doors were closed; he had so loved these times of privacy with his own! Their association, their confraternity, whether Pharisaic or Essenian, had been so happy, so sweet, so united! The evening meal had been for Jesus the time above all others for intimate communion, the time of rest, far from the thronging crowd, the time for self revelations and confi-

[1] See "Jesus Christ During his Ministry," p. 172.

dences; it was then that he would speak most unreservedly, and that relations of most entire confidence were established between him and his disciples.

More than this, the common meal, taken in accordance with Pharisaic custom, always had a sacred character. Jesus always began it by giving thanks, as has become the excellent custom of Christian households; thanking God for the food before partaking of the meal. The Jews, indeed, always did so, and even thanked God for each new dish placed upon the table; but it was especially at the beginning that they gave thanks, and again at the moment when the bread was broken, the great round flat cakes which had to be broken into pieces and distributed. It was the habit of Jesus to break the bread at the time when he said grace, at the same time making a gesture of adoration peculiar to himself, which no one made but he. "Oh, those meal-times with Jesus!" the apostles would say to one another in later days; "oh, the moment of the breaking of bread when he was with us!" They would remind one another how happy they had been, and how happy

he too had been at those blessed times! He used to look forward to them; he desired them "with a great desire;"[1] and when afterward they saw him, returned from the dead,[2] it was often at meal-time that he appeared in their midst; and it was especially in the breaking of bread that they recognized him.

This is why on that Thursday night, the night in which he was betrayed, knowing that he was very soon to be parted from his own, Jesus in a definitive way consecrated the solemn moment of the breaking of bread. He desired that the apostles should still come together, still break the bread, still drink in turn from the cup, as at the paschal meal; should do it all for him, in memory of him, until his coming again; for his absence was to be only an absence, a brief separation. And when they should reproduce the scene of the upper chamber, they would be drawing near to him; he would put himself into relations with them, and thus they would keep alive his memory.

[1] Luke xxii. 15.

[2] We shall return to this remark when discussing the return of Jesus to life.

More than this, he said that the memory, not of his life only but also of his death, was to be kept alive by this sacred ceremony. The bread was his body, broken, put to death. The wine was his blood, poured out for the remission of sins. Since he was to drink no more of this fruit of the vine with his own, until the kingdom should have come; since they were to have no more of these common meals, with the broken bread and the cup passed from lip to lip; since he was to die, — he desired that his death, which was to be so important, should be connected, by a sacred rite, with the celebration of the meals which the apostles would take after he was gone.

Besides, he was to come back again. Very well, until his return let the little spiritual family not be scattered; let his friends keep up the common evening meal; and every time that they ate the bread and drank of the cup, they would be proclaiming his death; they would be preaching him; they would be telling the world that his death had not been a defeat but a victory, an act willed by God, an act of redemption.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ARREST

THE evening was wearing away; it was time to go; the hour had come for repairing to their night refuge in Gat-Chamena,[1] at the foot of the Mount of Olives.

They therefore went forth after singing the last psalms and passed along the dark and silent streets. In each one of those closed houses they were finishing the celebration of the paschal meal, and the last chords of the hymns floated out from these homes as they passed before them; perhaps they also heard joyous bursts of laughter, for this feast of the Passover was always a very happy time.

They reached the open country; the moon was full[2] and lighted up the slopes

[1] See above, p. 79, note 1.

[2] That it was moonlight that night is certain because the Jews celebrated the Passover the 15th Nisan, that

of the Mount of Olives. Its rays fell white on the tombs and on the rocks, leaving the rest in shadow. They met no one on the road; they heard no sound except of their own footsteps; below them was the deep valley; before them, on the opposite slope of the hill, lay the quiet place where Jesus believed that he might pass the night without fear. From afar its olive-trees showed like dark blots, and the whole scene was enwrapped in the wan radiance which lighted up the mountain.

They went down into the valley, crossed the Kedron by a little bridge, the precise place of which is known, climbed the other slope by a footpath, and one by one entered the garden.

No one would look for them there under the trees. On the other side of the valley, directly opposite, uprose the high walls of Jerusalem, from which they were separated only by the ravine. The gigantic Temple overtopped these lordly walls with

is, fifteen days after the new moon, which always marked the beginning of the month. We at the present time follow a like custom; the Christian festival of Easter is celebrated on the first Sunday that follows the first full moon after the vernal equinox. It thence results that the moon is always full during Holy Week.

their one hundred and twenty feet of elevation, and their enormous foundation stones, which still rest in their places even to this day. Around them was the rocky hill all flooded with the white light from the skies, the white radiance bringing out the huge black shadows of the old olive-trees.

The apostles disposed themselves for the night, and fell asleep wrapped in their mantles. But Jesus desired to watch; he begged Peter, James, and John to come and pray with him, and all four went farther under the shadow of the trees.

Perhaps Jesus proposed to pass the whole night in Gethsemane; in any case he intended to begin it by praying, perhaps for an hour. He probably deemed it imprudent to spend this night in a house, even in that of his friends of Bethphage or Bethany, and preferred to remain in the open air. He had often done this, in his youth in Nazareth, and during his ministry in Galilee.[1]

But this night he was not entirely at ease, for though his retreat was known only to the Twelve, one of them, Judas,

[1] Luke vi. 12; John vi. 15 f.

the very one whom he suspected, was not with them. He had gone out abruptly in the midst of the Passover feast.

To the suspicions caused by the conduct of Jesus were joined presentiments; he felt that misfortune was coming, and soon an immense distress took possession of his entire being. It was for this reason that he had begged his three most intimate disciples to watch with him, near him; in general he used to go alone to pray, but this night he was overwhelmed with sadness, he dreaded solitude.

Yet he was not spared solitude. The three apostles who had gone with him soon slumbered like the others, being overcome with sleep. Then Jesus went a few steps farther; and kneeling down, his face to the earth, he was alone.

Oh those nights of solitude and meditation, how he had loved them! But here, for the first time, solitude was painful; he was "sorrowful even unto death."

And why? What was it that overwhelmed him? Had he not often passed such nights? — in Nazareth, before his ministry, and during the last three years, on the hills that surround the Lake of

Tiberias. All around him would be the quiet of an infinite adoration; from the depths of the valley a silent hymn would arise toward him, and toward the starry sky. Was it not the same on this night? Yes; externally this night resembled those of long ago; but how did it differ from them by the thoughts that oppressed his soul!

What were these thoughts? Many strange conjectures have been made; Jesus has been represented as at this hour regretting Galilee, Nazareth, and the destiny that had impelled him to take up his mission. It has been said that perhaps he was seized with a longing for home, for the spot where he was born, the town where he had lived so long; that he recalled his youth, the shop of Joseph, his happy childhood; that he saw again the familiar mountains around his village and heard in memory the yodel of the shepherds, who at this very hour were calling their flocks to the quiet pasturages of the plain of Esdraelon; and that comparing these sweet memories with his fruitless efforts, his broken hopes, and the hatred of his enemies, he was asking himself, "Was I not mistaken?"

What an error! and how deeply this is to misunderstand Jesus! They who thus think, they who explain the agony of Gethsemane by a selfish return of Jesus upon himself, are to be found, it is needless to say, only among unbelievers. And not a word in the Gospels confirms their purely gratuitous assumption.

But among Christians another explanation, if not like this, at least very near to it, has been proposed. It has been said that in Gethsemane Jesus was passing through a crisis of doubt as to his mission.

They who give this explanation of the anguish of Jesus in the Garden of Olives are to be found among the most believing and most pious of his worshippers. They do not indeed think that Jesus at this moment regretted having obeyed his Father, but they think that the hour spent in Gethsemane was an hour of moral hesitation and transient weakness.

We cannot admit it; at no moment was there any weakness, any doubt, any hesitation in the soul of Jesus, save, perhaps, when he uttered the cry, "My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?" But this cry was uttered only on the cross, it was not spoken in the olive garden.

His unalterable union with his Father gave to him, as well in this solemn hour in Gethsemane as at any other time, the certainty that he was doing the will of God and that he had nothing to regret.

Why not take the Gospel story in all its simplicity? Why seek to add to the text, and to find in it what is not there? We have already had occasion, in our first volume,[1] to explain this sublime scene.

In the Garden of Olives Jesus asked his Father that his work might be accomplished without the violent death that he saw approaching, without its defeat, its ignominy, its public execution. This was the cup that appalled him! This was why he was seized with dread, and an immense anguish took possession of him!

Once again he had the clear intuition of approaching death; the appalling vision of an imminent, fatal end; a criminal's death, a public execution! My work; yes, my entire work, my mission without doubt or shrinking or weakening; obedience, and obedience to the end. But is it not possible that obedience may not lead by way of such a death?

[1] See "Jesus Christ Before his Ministry," p. 153.

It rose up hideous before him; for a long time it had been drawing near, slow, implacable, always more certain. At first doubtful, it had become less and less so, and at this very moment perhaps it was being determined upon.

To accomplish his work, to be faithful to his mission, this had always been his will; and this he still willed, without a shadow of hesitation. His faith in his work, in his Father and in himself, had never wavered, and it did not waver now.

"Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt!" He accepts God's will, yet only to offer this prayer a second time. He accepts it again; yet still to pray again, pleading the third time his wish against his Father's will, and beseeching him to bend his will if that were in any wise possible. His anguish is so great that he utters loud cries,[1] calling his Father "Abba! Abba!" The tragic tone in which he pronounced these two syllables struck the ears of the three apostles heavy with sleep, yet still capable of hearing.

[1] Heb. v. 7.

Pascal, with his intuitive genius, has given the true meaning of the scene in Gethsemane; it is all summed up in his fine observation: —

"Jesus prayed in uncertainty of the Father's will, and in dread of death; but having learned that will, he went forward and offered himself to death."[1]

This says it all; Jesus did dread death; Jesus was uncertain as to the Father's will, — he, whose life and joy were in that will, whose meat it was to do it; and his uncertainty explains his agony.

Jesus, then, was hoping with an invincible hope that death might be avoided.

Rising from his prayer, he drew near to his disciples and perceived that they were asleep. He had already twice returned to them, begging them to watch with him. Now he said to Peter, "Sleepest thou? Couldst thou not watch with me one hour? The spirit indeed is willing but the flesh is weak." Jesus was speaking of himself as well as of his disciples. He had said for the last time, "Not as I will, but as Thou wilt." Now he was the

[1] Pascal, "Pensées: Le Mystère de Jésus," Hanet's edition, p. 398.

victor; these words are the secret of his life; it was his meat to do and to accept the will of the Father; to give himself up entirely to him who alone knows what he is doing.

He, Jesus, did not understand, but he did know with an absolute certainty that he had been living in the truth all his life, and that he still was doing so; he had the approbation of his conscience, was entirely at peace with it, that is, with his Father; and therefore, when all were cursing and crushing him, he could say, "Father, thy will!" He wept; but there was neither bitterness in his tears nor despair in his heart; submission to God's will had given him back hope and peace. The peace of God, that infinite peace that is born of unmurmuring obedience, stole upon his soul and filled it utterly.

Suddenly the silence of the night, which nothing had disturbed, was interrupted by a slight noise which grew ever louder. It was the hurried footsteps of men running down the declivity of the hill. Lanterns, torches, lights were coming; the clinking of arms was heard. In a moment Jesus understood it all. "It is

for me; I have been betrayed; they are coming to arrest me; it is all over."

What was happening was the work of Judas. We may thus picture to ourselves what this man had been doing. He knew that the Sanhedrin were reluctant to move during the Feast, and were waiting for the days of unleavened bread to be ended; but he had undertaken to do whatever was best for their interests. He was in the pay of the Sanhedrin, and Judas knew that they expected their money's worth. Thursday night seemed to him a favorable time; he knew where to find Jesus. By acting at night they would avoid a popular uprising. Therefore on going out from the upper chamber he went to the Sanhedrin with words to this effect: "If you choose, we can at once bring this matter to a close. I can give him up to you this night, and in twenty-four hours you can have him executed; thus you will avoid tumult."

His plans were well conceived. To arrest Jesus in the upper room would have been to provoke an uprising of the whole quarter. Besides, Judas did not know in advance where Jesus would eat the Pass-

over; his Master had taken all precautions, admitting only two disciples into the secret. Had Jesus mentioned in the course of the evening that he was going to pass the night in Gethsemane? It is possible; in any case Judas was confident of this, and he led the officers there without hesitation.

If he had heard Jesus speak of a meeting with his disciples in Galilee, he may have feared that Jesus might thus escape him; and it is not impossible that he had also said to the Sanhedrin, "I will not be responsible if you wait until after the Feast; he will have quitted Jerusalem; the surest way is to proceed this very minute." The Sanhedrin yielded to his arguments and gave him the requisite number of men; he led them away, walking at their head.[1]

The order of arrest had been given by Caiaphas, carrying out the decisions of that section of the Sanhedrin which was charged with juridical affairs. How was the company composed which Judas led? According to Matthew and Mark, of Levites of the inferior orders of the clergy,

[1] Matt. xxvi. 47; Mark xiv. 43; Luke xxii. 47; John xviii. 3; Acts i. 16.

agents of the Sanhedrin, a sort of police under the high priest's orders. It is hardly probable that among them were, as Luke says, temple officers and priests properly so called; and there certainly were no Roman soldiers in the party, as the Fourth Gospel states, going so far as to say that the whole garrison of Jerusalem was there with the Tribune in person. This is certainly an error; the Roman troops could have been there only by order of Pilate, and for that it would have been necessary to consult Pilate. But the Roman Procurator heard of the proceedings against Jesus only on the morrow, when the Jews brought Jesus before him and insisted that he should crucify him. It was the Sanhedrin alone who arrested Jesus, and Pilate's troops were not at the Sanhedrin's orders. The unknown writer of the Fourth Gospel introduces here a detail which he believed to be correct, but which shows that he was unfamiliar with the manners and customs of Palestine at that time.

There were in the party therefore only the policemen who had charge of the Temple and were at the orders of the

priesthood, a few agents of Caiaphas, and even certain slaves, who had only staves by way of weapons.

The apostles awaked in terror. Jesus said to them, not without irony, "Sleep on now and take your rest; the hour is at hand, and the Son of man is betrayed into the hand of sinners."

At that moment a man approached, — he who was walking at the head of the company. He hastened toward Jesus and gave him a kiss. Jesus, in extreme surprise, recognized Judas, and addressed him by the familiar and affectionate term which the word "friend" only very imperfectly renders.[1] The appellation, the surprised question, "Wherefore hast thou come?" show clearly that Jesus became certain of Judas's treachery only at this moment. Up to this time no doubt he had not been able to bring himself to admit such black perfidy.

The kiss had been a signal; in a few moments Jesus was surrounded, seized, bound; that is to say, his hands were tightly bound and his feet so tied as to permit him to walk but not to run, and in

[1] Matt. xxvi. 50; ἑταῖρε, companion, comrade.

consequence to take away from him all possibility of escape.

As to the apostles, they at once fled in dismay. Everything was going to pieces about them, — their faith, their hope, their trust in Jesus; all that they had believed was disappearing. He whom they had called the Christ was only a man like any other, and self-deceived. Their despair may easily be understood.

Peter alone remained. He did more: he remembered his promise and proposed to keep it. He had brought with him one of the two swords which they had showed to Jesus in the upper room. Suddenly he rushed forward, sword in hand, and tried to deliver a heavy blow on the head of the foremost of the aggressors; the sword glanced aside and cut off the unlucky man's ear. It was Malek, one of the slaves of Caiaphas.[1] Jesus bade Peter put up his sword into its sheath.

No one, however, struck back, and no attempt was made to arrest Peter; singularly enough, since he had committed an act which fell under the ban of the law. Probably the order had been given to

[1] *Malchos* in Greek; John xviii. 10.

arrest Jesus alone and to let his disciples go, whatever might be their attitude, to avoid everything which might provoke a struggle, and in consequence a tumult. The purpose of the Sanhedrin was to dispose of Jesus as promptly as possible, but in a lawful way; the rest mattered little. Besides, the wounded man was only a slave; according to the custom of the time Peter's act was therefore of no consequence.

Thus Peter remained. He had the courage not to run away even when he had reason to dread lawful reprisals; he loved his Master too sincerely to abandon him.

Jesus, entirely submissive to the Father's will, was further than ever from saying, "I have been mistaken;" he felt assured that since the Father willed that he should die, his death was a true part of his work, and that his blood would be shed for the remission of the sins of those who believed on him. He permitted himself to be led away, simply protesting against the cowardice and brutality of this clandestine arrest. "You arrest me by night, in an ambuscade, as if I were a robber, and every day

I have been with you in the Temple; you ought to have arrested me there."[1]

It has been asked how this scene of the arrest, and that which preceded it, the agony of Jesus in prayer under the olive-trees of the garden, could have been narrated with so much precision since the apostles were either asleep or absent. A slight incident recorded by Mark perhaps gives the key of this enigma.[2] He says that a very young man, a boy, was in bed, perhaps in the country house adjoining the Garden of Olives, perhaps in the oil press itself, keeping guard, no doubt, over the tools and the oil-making apparatus. He was sleeping profoundly when he was awakened by a noise. He arose in terror and ran out, having only his night garment around him. The policemen surrounded and would have seized him, but he fled, leaving in their hands the single garment with which he was covered. No doubt it was he who witnessed the scene of Gethsemane, and all that preceded and followed it; it was he who heard Jesus exclaim three times, "Father, not as I

[1] Matt. xxvi. 55; Mark xiv. 48; Luke xxii. 52.

[2] Mark xiv. 51, 52.

will but as thou wilt;" and who at a later time could affirm that he had uttered cries and shed tears, as one of the oldest traditions relates.[1]

We are inclined to believe that this young man was Mark himself; it may with no improbability be so supposed. This John Mark had a mother in Jerusalem. She and her son were no doubt among the disciples unknown to us who lived in the city, and who seem to have formed a pretty numerous group.

In any case, it is certain that the Gat-Chemena property belonged to a friend of Jesus. It is only a conjecture, but a perfectly allowable one, that it belonged to the father of John Mark, and that the young man in charge of the oil press who witnessed all that occurred was his son, and that he himself at a later time told the story when he wrote his Gospel.

We have said that Jesus was tried and condemned according to law. The apostles — for example, St. Paul, who was thoroughly acquainted with the legislation of his time — nowhere say that the death of Jesus was not in conformity to law.

[1] Heb. v. 7.

Everything was in fact done according to legal forms, except with regard to one point, — the precipitancy with which the accused was condemned to death, without waiting for a second vote of the assembly on the morrow, as the rigor of the law demanded.[1] This detail excepted, the general procedure was correct and in conformity with the law of that time. Jesus was a *mesith*, a seducer;[2] it was as such that he was arrested, and the intention was to put him to death on that ground. The common procedure so willed, and his judges conformed themselves to it.

The procedure, as the Mishna describes it, began with a trap, pure and simple. Two eye-witnesses were necessary; the law required it, and to meet this requirement it was the custom to secrete two people in some lurking-place, to entice the suspected person as near them as possible, and so arrange matters that he should be heard and seen. The Talmud recommends that two candles be lighted near the accused, in order that the witnesses may be literal eye-witnesses. If the attempt

[1] Mishna, *Sanhedrin*, iv. 6, v. 1.
[2] *Id.* iv. 5.

to make the suspected man repeat his blasphemy was successful, the witnesses hastened to denounce him, and he was condemned to die by stoning.

We may believe the Talmuds when they affirm that this was the proceeding with Jesus. He was accused of seduction;[1] the witnesses were hidden, we know not where nor how; and he was convicted of the crime of which he was accused. It is noteworthy that the account in the Talmud of the procedure followed in the case of seducers answers on almost every point to the accounts in the Gospels. Let us follow the trial of Jesus and we shall be convinced of this fact.[2]

[1] Matt. xxvii. 63; John vii. 12, 47.

[2] Jerus. Talm. *Sanh.* ii., iii., iv.; Babyl. *id.* 43a, 67a; *Schabbath*, 104, 6.

CHAPTER IX

THE TRIAL

THEY led the prisoner to the house of Annas. He lived on the summit of the Mount of Olives, at the *Khaneioth;* that is, the Bazars, the revenue of which belonged to him;[1] there he had his country house.

This Annas was, as has been said, a great personage. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour (it must have been the middle of the night), he was awaiting his victim. The proximity of the place of arrest was very favorable to his purpose, and the old priest had very shrewdly planned it all in advance. It was certainly at his instigation that every detail had been adjusted, and perhaps it was Annas himself with whom Judas, on going out

[1] Here the Fourth Evangelist makes no mistake, but gives a very remarkable proof of the accuracy of his information. See "Jesus Christ During his Ministry," p. xxvi, note.

from the upper chamber, had made arrangements the evening before.

In any case it was probably he who had directed everything; he who had compacted with the traitor, had sent the squad of police, had advised that Pilate should be brought to condemn Jesus to death by crucifixion. He knew his people, and how to so manage them as to avoid a public disturbance. The important thing was to carry the matter through as rapidly as possible; no doubt he would have preferred to do nothing during the Feast, but since the opportunity had presented itself he had taken advantage of it, and it required the greatest promptitude.

Annas was no longer an official personage, but whatever he said his son-in-law hastened to ratify; and besides, on this question there had long been perfect agreement between the two. It is easy to picture the scene that took place in the atrium of Annas's villa. Jesus, led quietly into this country house about two o'clock in the morning, was introduced, securely bound, into the presence of the former high priest, the actors in the drama being made visible by the light of torches.

Annas began by questioning the accused. Judas no doubt had instructed him, and he was desirous himself to speak with Jesus, that he might learn how best to conduct the legal procedure. He therefore put to him several questions concerning his teachings and his disciples.

Jesus, who knew himself to be condemned beforehand, had resolved to say nothing; in fact he kept silence during the entire trial. He simply declared, in answer to Annas's first question, that he had nothing to explain; that he had always worked publicly, never in secret, and consequently there was need only to ask those who had heard him. They would all have come to some conclusion as to what he thought and desired; and since he had concealed nothing, he had nothing to confess.

This reply was considered insolent, and one of the subalterns stationed near Jesus, desiring to show his zeal, gave him a blow. Jesus, whose self-possession never failed him for a moment, replied gently, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?"[1]

[1] John xviii. 23.

It was in the villa of Annas that the denial of Peter took place.[1] John and he had followed afar, and it appears, singularly enough, that John was acquainted with the servants of Annas. He had possibly some relatives among them; he gained entrance for Peter, and the latter was daring enough to mingle with the servants who were warming themselves at a fire in the court. He would perhaps have passed unnoticed had he not conceived the unlucky idea of protecting himself from suspicion by talking. Unfortunately he had the accent of a Galilean peasant, an accent very displeasing to Judean ears, and one which betrayed him with every word he spoke. A Galilean in Jerusalem would reveal his origin even

[1] Matthew says that it was at the house of Caiaphas (xxvi. 57 ff.); Mark and Luke, at the high priest's house (evidently also Caiaphas); John says, at the house of Annas (xviii. 18 ff.), — one of the innumerable disagreements of the Evangelists in matters of detail. We prefer the evidence of John, not only because these details show the eye-witness, but because it is much more natural to think of Peter as having immediately followed Jesus, and having entered the house on the Mount of Olives, than to make him go to Jerusalem, to the palace of Caiaphas. Where would he have been during the examination before Annas?

more quickly than a southerner in Paris. He confused certain letters in a way that gave rise to the most laughable intonations and even to plays upon words and puns; saying one word, he seemed to say another. Twice a maid-servant, crossing the court, remarked upon Peter's accent; upon this the servants began to investigate him, putting questions to him. Peter hastened to protect himself by a falsehood; but to utter it he must speak, and the more he spoke, the more he showed what he was. He tried to change his place, but the questioning was kept up; he denied again. A third time he was called "Galilean," and a third time he denied; this time he committed perjury, denying with an oath, declaring that he knew not "that man." "That man" was Jesus. At the same moment a cock crew,[1] and Jesus, who was not far away and who had heard all, recalled to his disciple by a glance what he had said to him a few hours before. Peter, startled, humiliated, tortured by that glance, by the memory of his promises,

[1] The crowing of a cock becomes much more natural placed at the country house of Annas, than at Jerusalem, in the palace of Caiaphas.

his assurances, his protestations, sprang up, hastened out, and, throwing the corner of his mantle over his head,[1] went away sobbing.

The interview with Annas could lead to nothing final, and consequently could not be greatly prolonged. The members of that section of the Sanhedrin which was in charge of juristic matters, having been aroused in the middle of the night, had had time to assemble at the palace of Caiaphas in Jerusalem. The necessity of haste, and of acting by night because of the Feast, had been made clear to them.

The party therefore set out, conducting Jesus to the city with as little noise as possible; and all was ready when he was ushered into the hall where his judges awaited him. These, to the number of twenty-three, forming the *Beth-Din* (house of justice), were sitting in their places.

Here again the procedure was rapid. As Caiaphas always acted only at his father-in-law's instigation, Annas con-

[1] *Throwing the corner of his mantle over his head* to hide his face; this is the most probable translation of the enigmatic word, ἐπιβαλών. Mark xiv. 72.

tinued to manage everything with his infernal ability. The end to be attained was to put Jesus to death as promptly as possible; but still according to law, that they might afterward say, in case of a popular movement in his favor, that his condemnation had been deserved, and that he had been tried in strict accordance with all the forms. It has already been remarked that never did a single one of the apostles claim that the law had been violated in their Master's trial.

It must have been four or five in the morning when Jesus arrived at the palace of Caiaphas. The important thing was to capture the vote of the assembly, and here again the tact of Annas made itself felt. It is possible that Caiaphas also was a wily diplomatist. A man who was able to retain the high priesthood ten years in succession cannot have been wanting in cleverness.

The trial of Jesus of Nazareth was evidently carried on according to a prearranged plan. First of all it was important to turn against him several priestly members of the Sanhedrin. For this purpose use was made, not of the purification

of the Temple,[1] but of the saying, "Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will build it again." They began by discussing this utterance; its sense was not clear; the witnesses who were summoned, according to the law, were not in accord as to its true signification. There were those who spoke of a very rapid, material rebuilding of the Temple, whereas Jesus had spoken of an invisible, spiritual Temple, of the true worshippers of his Father.

Nevertheless this expression, whatever might be its true meaning in the eyes of the Sadducean priests, profoundly irritated them. The bare mention of a possible disappearance of the sanctuary by which they lived exasperated them. The mere citation of this saying therefore won them over to the side of the condemnation of Jesus, and that was all that Caiaphas asked of them.

There remained those who were not priests, — in particular, the Pharisees.

[1] A very weighty proof that this took place at the opening of Jesus' ministry, and that it had been forgotten (see "Jesus Christ During his Ministry," p. 130), for if it had occurred on Palm Sunday they could not have failed to make use of it.

Many of these certainly found nothing subversive in the words of Jesus concerning the Temple, as they were cited by the witnesses. But Caiaphas desired a unanimous condemnation; and to obtain the adhesion of the Pharisees he had prepared a direct question, which he had held in reserve, and now abruptly put to Jesus, "Art thou the Christ?"[1] If, in fact, contempt of the Temple sufficed for the Sadducees, it was needful, in order to gain the approbation of the Pharisees, that Jesus should be a false Messiah. Now Caiaphas was sure that Jesus would reply in the affirmative; he had informed himself on this subject; perhaps it was Judas himself who had informed him.

And furthermore, and this was the supreme craftiness of the question, if Jesus declared himself to be the Messiah, he could be handed over to Pilate as having aspired to royalty; and when Pilate once took charge of the matter they would be quit of it.

At the direct and formal question of Caiaphas Jesus departed from his rule of silence and replied, "Thou hast said [the

[1] Matt. xxvi. 63; Mark xiv. 61; Luke xxii. 70.

words are synonymous with yes]; and furthermore (πλήν) I declare unto you, from this present time (ἀπ' ἄρτι) ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God and coming in the clouds of heaven."[1]

Jesus was here reminding his judges of a passage of Scripture which they well knew.[2] In this passage, *Barnascha*, as the Aramaic of Jesus' time called him, the Son of man, draws near to Jehovah to

[1] Matt. xxvi. 64; Mark xiv. 62; Luke xxii. 69. The text of Mark, the oldest of the three, does not include the words ἀπ' ἄρτι, and Luke replaces them with ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, "from this time forward." It is truly inconceivable how the advocates of the allegorical theory, the exegetes who affirm that Jesus predicted merely a series of spiritual returns, can insist that they find a confirmation of their fantastic exegesis in these words (ἀπ' ἄρτι). Jesus simply declares that from the moment then present he may be expected at any hour returning in the clouds of heaven. This expression shows that even at that terrible moment his faith in himself and in his words did not waver. He was expecting the kingdom; it might appear at any minute, from the present time (ἀπ' ἄρτι), from this time forward (ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν). Upon the cross Jesus said, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Save perhaps in that second of moral anguish in which he uttered this cry of despair, he was always, as has already been said, sure of himself, sure of his Father, and sure of the truth.

[2] Daniel vii. 13.

receive from him dominion over the world. Now Jesus was convinced that he was the *Barnascha*, the ideal Son of man, the Messiah, the future king of the coming kingdom, and he was affirming his Messiahship, and in consequence his triumph, in a future which was to be expected from this time forth, at any moment.

No doubt he had said, "Its coming is delayed." He had said this more than once these last weeks, and in several parables. But now events were hastening, and Jesus declared that the great day was very near. How natural it is! He said, "It delayeth its coming," when he believed that his work upon earth was still to last for a certain time. The previous evening, in the upper chamber, he had spoken of the Passover which he was celebrating as the last before the coming of the kingdom; that is to say, he spoke of it as coming in the year then beginning; and now he speaks of it as "from this time," at any moment.

No doubt Jesus intended to continue the sentence and give some explanation of what he had just said; but Caiaphas interrupted him; a tumult arose, the high

priest making a pretence of indignation, declaring his horror of the blasphemy that they had just heard. We say, "making a pretence," for the Sadducees concerned themselves little with Messianic hopes, and it was necessary to simulate indignation in order to carry the Pharisees who were members of the assembly. The death sentence was voted at once, and unanimously.[1]

It is pleasant to believe that Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus were not members of the juristic section of the Sanhedrin, and that they were not of those who, from cowardice, were unwilling to form a minority.

Jesus was condemned; it was necessary now to wait for daybreak and take him before the Procurator. To fill in the time they heaped insults upon him; they blindfolded him, and each came in his turn to smite him, saying, "Come, play the prophet! Who smote thee? Guess!"[2] Did the members of the Sanhedrin in person so abase themselves, or did they

[1] This was legal; blasphemy was punished with death. Lev. xxiv. 10 f.; Deut. xiii. 1 f.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 67, 68; Mark xiv. 65; Luke xxii. 63–65.

content themselves with permitting their retainers to indulge in this infamous conduct? It is impossible to know; the texts are not at one on this subject.

At early dawn they set out for the house of Pilate.

But why Pilate? Annas and Caiaphas had only to cause Jesus to be secretly stoned at once, in some retired corner. It was easy; they had at hand the necessary agents, well accustomed to such work. This would have had the advantage of keeping the populace in ignorance of his death, and would have been the surest way of avoiding an uprising.

They had the power to do it; and when they asserted that they were not allowed to put any one to death,[1] they lied: they were allowed. Why then Pilate? Because they were too wily to take upon themselves the execution of Jesus.

We have already referred to this last device of the Jewish authorities. The Galileans, Jesus' partisans, were in considerable force in the city, which furthermore was crowded with strangers. Since Annas and Caiaphas had been obliged to

[1] John xviii. 31.

act at so unfavorable a moment, they must at least make the best of it, and with little short of genius they conceived the idea of profiting by the presence of Pilate, — not simply to ratify their sentence, as has commonly been said, there was nothing for Pilate to ratify; but to lay the condemnation of Jesus upon him. Then if at a later time the nation reproached Caiaphas with having killed a patriot, he could reply, "I did not do it; it was the Procurator." And it was as the result of this odious and cowardly calculation that Jesus was crucified and not stoned. Is not this the invariable conduct of all religious potentates? — to seek a condemnation from the secular arm, thus sheltering themselves. Clerical fanaticism begs the civil power to cover its violences, and then makes it responsible for them, going even so far as to upbraid it for them. What Caiaphas did the Church often did at a later time, or at least it followed an analogous course.

Pilate's palace was contiguous to the Tower of Antonia.[1] It was the former

[1] The seraglio of the Pacha of Jerusalem now occupies the precise spot.

palace of Herod.[1] The Prætorium, the hall of justice, was on the ground floor. But this was Gentile ground, and so impure, and the Jews refused to enter it;[2] to step upon Gentile ground was to incur uncleanness.

Pilate had another tribunal in the open air,[3] an elevated structure, probably a gallery with a colonnade. The pavement was of mosaic; this tribunal was called the *Bima*.[4]

[1] Phil. *Leg. ad Caium*, § 38; Jos. *D. B. J.* 2, 14, 8.

[2] "That they might eat the Passover," says the Fourth Gospel (John xviii. 28). This is a mistake; the Jews had already eaten the Passover the evening before, and it was not in the least necessary that it should be the day on which the Passover was eaten for them to refuse to step upon Gentile ground. Strict Jews always considered such an act as incurring uncleanness, and that from one end of the year to the other. The author of the Fourth Gospel, making Jesus die on the very day on which the lamb was slain and eaten, attributed to this motive the refusal of the Jews to enter the Prætorium. This mixture of inaccuracy and precise detail, of data of remarkable historicity, and data not less flagrantly erroneous, confirms us more and more in the opinion that we have in the Fourth Gospel, not the work of an eye-witness, but of one unknown, the intimate friend of an eye-witness (St. John), writing from verbal indications or notes of the latter.

[3] Jos. *D. B. J.* 2, 9, 3; Matt. xxvii. 27; John xix. 13.

[4] The *Bima* in Aramaic; a word drawn from the Greek *βῆμα*.

Pilate was surprised on being disturbed at so early an hour, and before taking his seat he complained of being called to judge in such a case. He would have much preferred that the Jews should take this execution upon themselves; he foresaw much annoyance in the matter. Here was another of those disagreeable cases in which he would have to yield to the objurgations of the Jews without the approval of his own conscience; and he began by going into the Prætorium with Jesus alone.

There an interview took place, the character of which has been preserved for us by John, although it is not possible that he can have known its details; but the general color of his account appears to be very authentic.

As for Pilate, his visits to Jerusalem were insupportable, and his task as Procurator at the Feast times was a very delicate one. The Jews were intractable, and he was very much annoyed at being forced to show himself cruel during the few days that he was obliged to spend in the capital. His interview with the accused shortly enlightened him as to his character. To

put this man to death would be an iniquity, an act contrary to all usages of Rome, which wisely permitted conquered peoples to work out their religious quarrels according to their own ideas.

He therefore sincerely desired to save Jesus. The Sadducees speedily became aware of this, and thought for a moment that their prey was about to escape them. It was evident that Pilate was seeking all possible means of acquitting him; in vain might they shout, "Crucify him! crucify him!"[1] Jesus was now in the hands of Rome, and guarded by Roman soldiers. Annas and his party no longer had the slightest power over him; they had given him over to the Romans, and the Romans were his keepers.

The Sadducees uneasily consulted together. To work upon Pilate they must leave the crime of seduction in the background, and undertake to accuse Jesus of revolutionary projects. But as he had had none, they invented them, trying what calumny would do. He who had said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are

[1] Matt. xxvii. 22, 23; Mark xv. 13, 14; Luke xxiii. 21 ff.

Cæsar's," was now accused of having claimed to be King of the Jews, though he had never taken that title; and they added, "He forbids to give tribute."[1]

The lie was flagrant. But a little while before Jesus had publicly said precisely the contrary; but the Sadducees were driven into a corner and trembled lest Pilate should acquit Jesus; he had only to say a word, — not even that, had only to make a gesture, — and Jesus was free. But if the other accusations had produced little effect upon Pilate, this one produced still less. It was too much to ask him to take it seriously; this working-man, this Galilean, a king! At most he was a dreamer, and a very inoffensive one.

Pilate therefore reappeared outside, and this time he seated himself upon the *Bima;* he proposed to finish with the matter and pronounce the acquittal. His seat was a lofty one; overhead were the four letters S. P. Q. R. (*Senatus populusque Romanus*); at his feet stood Jesus, his hands bound; farther away the multitude, restrained by a Roman soldier who held his lance horizontal by way of barrier. The multitude

[1] Luke xxiii. 2-5.

were vociferating "Crucify him! crucify him!" and behind them were the priests directing and urging them on.[1]

For a moment Pilate thought that he had found a way out of the difficulty. It was Passover-tide, and the custom was at this time to set at liberty a prisoner, whomsoever the people themselves might choose. He proposed to the crowd to release "the King of the Jews,"[2] using the words intentionally, in derision of the priests, to make them feel that he was not their dupe, and that he put no faith in the accusation of pretensions to royalty that they had preferred against Jesus.

Once again the Sadducean priests believed that their plan had failed; but

[1] We say *the multitude*, for since daylight the news of the arrest had spread through the city, and the multitude must have hastened *en masse* to the Prætorium. The Sanhedrin had feared an uprising in favor of Jesus. They had, alas! no longer anything of that kind to dread. The people, who had been sympathetic with Jesus, were now turning against him. Such change of mood often takes place in popular masses. The losing side is always wrong in their eyes, and among those who cried "Crucify him! crucify him!" were perhaps some of those who, the previous Sunday, had most loudly sung "Hosanna! Hosanna!"

[2] Mark xv. 9.

happily for them a certain Bar-Rabban[1] was in prison at the time; he had committed a murder and attempted an uprising. "Ask for Bar-Rabban!" The word went round; it was repeated from lip to lip, and presently the cry uprose as from one voice, "Not this man, Bar-Rabban!"

Pilate was caught. He had said, "Whomever ye will;" he was bound to deliver to them whatever criminal they might choose. And yet so great was his desire to save Jesus that he would not yet give up for beaten; he made a last effort.

He condemned Jesus to be scourged, a relatively insignificant penalty, and informed the Jews that this would be all. "Afterward," he said, "I will let him go."[2] Flagellation was always the preliminary to the suffering of the cross,[3] but this was not what Pilate meant. He was resolved to set the prisoner at liberty immediately after having had him scourged.

This flagellation was accompanied with revolting acts. Pilate had at Jerusalem only auxiliary troops, soldiers who were

[1] Matt. xxvii. 16 ff. [2] Luke xxiii. 16.

[3] Jos. *D. B. J.* 2, 14, 9; 5, 11, 1; 7, 6, 4; Titus Livius, xxiii. 36; Quintus Curtius, 7, 11, 28.

not true legionaries, and not one of whom was a Roman citizen. Picked up from among coarse and brutal creatures, recruited more or less from anywhere, they made the Jews pay dear for their obligation of keeping garrison in this unknown land of Judea. They put upon Jesus an old red chlamys, made him a crown of thorny branches, and placed a reed in his hand. Pilate let them have their way; he even suffered Jesus to be led before the people in this accoutrement. Each of the soldiers in turn gave him a buffet, prostrating themselves before him in succession, saying, "Hail! King of the Jews!" It is even said that Pilate joined them, crying "Behold the man!"

He hoped that this sort of horse-play would suffice, and this is his excuse for having let it go on. To ridicule Jesus, to change the whole affair into a grotesque pageant, was, he thought, to save him. He was mistaken; the Sadducees took new hope, and their cries "Crucify him! crucify him!" uprose continually.

Then Pilate, to gain time, sent Jesus to Antipas, who also had come to Jerusalem for the Feast. But Jesus said no

more to Antipas than to Caiaphas, and was silent also before Pilate, when he was once more brought before him.

The situation was threatening to be prolonged, when the priests were struck with an idea which was a veritable inspiration. They took Pilate on the side of his personal interest, saying to him, "If thou let this man go thou art not the emperor's friend."[1] Now Pilate was a functionary, and the thing the functionary loves most in the world is his place. Hearing these words, he feared the loss of his place; he knew himself to be in peril of denunciation by these Jews whom he despised. They had already written once to Tiberius complaining of him, and Tiberius had justified them. . . . "The priests," Pilate thought, "will complain again; they will write." It seemed to Pilate that he could read their report in advance; he said to himself, "I am already in bad odor; I shall lose my place." Lose his place! He could not go as far as that; and so he yielded, though in yielding he disclaimed responsibility. He said to the Jews, "You are responsible for the blood

[1] John xix. 12.

of this man;" and they replied, "His blood be on us and on our children."[1] Horrible wish, which has been only too literally fulfilled! The malediction which has weighed upon the Jews during so many centuries is not yet soon to vanish. We have finished with religious intolerance, but in vain is liberty of conscience respected; the Jew bears an indelible stigma. That odious thing, anti-Semitism, has from century to century a perpetual renascence.

The true author of the death of Jesus was not Pilate, but the Sadducean party. Was there not another author even older than they? Assuredly; the Sadducees did no more than apply the law, and the law is the true culprit. The passages are explicit;[2] every innovator was to be stoned without trial. Terrible law, odious fanaticism; to desire to change the established forms of worship was to invoke death. The saying, "We have a law,"[3] was only too true; it was the law that pronounced sentence upon Jesus. He abolished it; but to do this he must suffer its penalty.

[1] Matt. xxvii. 25.
[2] Deut. xiii. 1 f.; Lev. xxiv. 16.
[3] John xix. 7.

As for him, he did not again break silence. What was he thinking during this long trial, during that struggle before Pilate which lasted more than two hours? We picture to ourselves a mute dialogue between him and his Father. Seeing himself alone, a victim of the fury of some, the cowardice of others, certain that death was very near, on that same day, he called upon his Father, and was always certain that his Father was near him. Man of sorrows, he was no longer thinking of Galilee, of the preaching of the kingdom, of the sympathy of the crowds; he was thinking of the prophets, of that Servant of God dying for the sins of his people of whom Isaiah had spoken, and the conviction of his Messiahship grew even stronger in his soul; he knew, he was certain, with an immovable certitude. Let them utter cries of rage against him, rain blows upon him, he would respond only by silence, — a silence that was the supreme dignity of the last hours of his life.

CHAPTER X

THE EXECUTION

ANNAS and Caiaphas had accomplished their ends, had succeeded in everything: an arrest without a popular tumult, a trial according to legal form, and finally a condemnation pronounced by Pilate for a crime against the State. Henceforth they might rest quiet; they had sheltered themselves on all sides. They can be criticised only on one point, — the precipitation of their acts.[1] But in this detail they could also be without fear; they had only to affirm that the procedure had been long, and that Jesus had been arrested a long while before. This is what they failed not to do, and the Talmuds tell us[2]

[1] See above, p. 147.

[2] Mishna, *Sanh.* vi. 4; Talm. Jerusal. *Sanh.* xi. 4. Nevertheless Rabbi Judas advocated an immediate execution, not to make the condemned suffer by the expectation of death. The desire to be just and kind to criminals is evident all through the tractate of the San-

that the condemned always remained in prison a long time before being executed. Therefore, they would conclude, it was thus with Jesus.

The sentence was to the cross; this was inevitable, since it was the Roman authority that had pronounced it. The Jews on their part had desired this manner of death, and for long hours they had been crying by the voices of their tools, "Crucify him! crucify him!"

Death upon the cross was, Cicero says, "the most cruel and the most hideous of deaths;"[1] a peculiar ignominy was attached to it; not only were Roman citizens dispensed from it, but it was only to highway robbers bandits and thieves

hedrin. Such exaggerated kindliness is the act of men who feel the responsibility of Jesus' death weighing upon their race, and who try to disculpate their ancestors. In the Babylonian Gemara they have dared to write that Jesus was hanged on the evening of the Passover; that during forty days before the execution the Sanhedrin caused his execution to be proclaimed, declaring that he was to be put to death for having seduced Israel, and that whoever had anything to say in his defence was invited to say it; and that not one defender presented himself. Talm. Babyl. *Sanh.* 6, 2. (See Lightfoot, *Horæ*, etc., p. 490.)

[1] "*Crudelissimum teterrimumque supplicium*," Cic. *Verr.* 5, 64.

that the Romans refused death by the sword.[1] It was also inflicted upon slaves when they became guilty of some particularly atrocious crime.

The penalty being Roman, the execution must be Roman; commanded by Romans, done by Romans, with a military escort. Jesus was thus to be abandoned "to the wicked," as they said in those days.

In ancient times there were no executioners, properly speaking. Oriental sovereigns, who were every day commanding decapitations, constantly kept executioners near them, among their guards,[2] and the Romans put their condemned to death by means of soldiers. Those of Jerusalem pertained, as has been said, to the auxiliary troops, always very ill made up; and it was to this brutal soldiery, habituated to cruelty, indifferent to suffering from constantly witnessing it, and inaccessible to the sight of moral greatness and submission, that Jesus was given up.

[1] Jos. *Ant. Jud.* 17, 10, 10; 20, 6, 2; *D. B. J.* 5, 11, 1; Apulius, *Metam.* iii. 9; Suetonius, *Galba*, 9; Lamprid. *Al. Sev.* 23.

[2] Mark vi. 27.

His robe and mantle, which had been taken from him when he was huddled in the red chlamys, were given back to him, and they set forth with two thieves, whose execution was to take place at the same time with his.

It was between eight and nine in the morning when the very small and insignificant procession of the three condemned men went out from the Tower of Antonia by the great iron gate which closed its entrance [1] through which they passed, each one bearing his cross, or dragging it over the pavement of the Roman road. The day had long since begun, and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, some were at their necessary tasks, others were quietly giving themselves to the repose obligatory on this day. The little company can hardly have attracted much attention; and we may imagine that those who met the three condemned men did not so much as turn

[1] Jesus cannot have gone directly from the Prætorium to execution. Once condemned, he must have been led by inner doors into the Tower of Antonia, which joined the Prætorium. There were the centurions, the soldiers, and the two thieves, who, since their condemnation, had been imprisoned in the tower. Acts xxi. 34 *passim*.

to look after them. Two scoundrels and a madman who were to be done away with, — what was there interesting in that? Simon of Cyrene, who was coming toward them, would no doubt have gone on his way, indifferent to the procession that he had just passed, if the soldiers had not requisitioned him;[1] and those critics are very ill advised who think that an execution of this kind could not be carried out by the Romans on the morning of the 15th Nisan because of the feast.[2] A mounted centurion went first, accompanied by only four soldiers; the party then contained merely eight persons in all. The written scroll to be placed above the head of each condemned man was carried before him as they went.[3] We have three different texts of that of Jesus. The shortest, which is also the oldest, is the most prob-

[1] It is true that Luke speaks of a great crowd (xxiii. 27), but this is one of the amplifications usual with this author.

[2] It has also been said that Simon of Cyrene was coming out of the fields, and that men did not work in the fields on feast days. But the text simply states that Simon the Cyrenian was coming in from the country, and says nothing about work.

[3] It is not so said, but it was always done.

able, "King of the Jews."[1] Instead of writing Seducer, or Rebel, Pilate made a point of making the Jews ridiculous to the end, to revenge himself on them for insisting that he should condemn the Nazarene. The Sadducees sent to ask him to modify the inscription; he refused point blank.

The condemned, carrying their crosses, walked behind the soldiers who bore the inscriptions. Wood was scarce in Judea, and a certain number of these "trees of justice," always the same, were certainly kept in reserve and used several times over. Perhaps a troop of vagabonds followed the condemned with insults; behind them came St. John and a few women, timid, anxious, overcome with fatigue and sorrow.

The event which has made the world new was, on the day that it occurred, only an obscure crime, a hurried execution, a petty wrong, carried out as rapidly as possible, and passing almost unperceived in a city of sixty thousand inhabitants, not one of whose daily habits it in the least disturbed.

[1] Mark xv. 26. Cf. Luke xxiii. 38.

Usually executions took place at Golgotha, outside the wall, northeast of the city, upon a bare hillock in the midst of an open common. Jesus, worn out by the fatigues and suffering of the previous night, probably faint with hunger, perhaps less robust than his companions in wretchedness, was incapable of carrying his cross to the end. He had not even the strength to drag the two thick beams, after the usual custom of the condemned.

The first comer, an unknown individual who was coming in from the fields, and whose name was Simon of Cyrene, was called to his aid. The soldiers roughly requisitioned him, with the coolness of conquerors in a conquered country. Indeed it was necessary, for they themselves would not have carried the cross; the Romans never carried the accursed tree. To this duty, imposed upon Simon, we no doubt owe our knowledge of the last hours of Jesus.

When they finally arrived at the place of execution it was nine o'clock.[1]

Before nailing the condemned to the

[1] This is the hour given by Mark, and the most probable one. See above, p. 92.

cross an attempt was made to deaden their sensibilities; the Jews had introduced this custom to mitigate the atrocious sufferings of the victims' last hours by dulling their consciousness, at least in part. They were given wine mingled with strong aromatics, which benumbed them.[1] Jesus tasted the beverage and at once refused it; he desired to retain consciousness to the very last, and at the cost of greater suffering to keep full possession of himself.

The soldiers planted the three larger beams in three of the numerous holes which they found already made, serving for any crucifixion. The further proceedings might be in one of two ways: the smaller piece of wood, which was to be placed horizontally across the top of the other, lying still on the ground, the executioners might lay the victim down, and extending his arms, nail or fasten the hands to the two extremities of this beam, then raising the whole, fix it transversely at the top of the larger. Or they could adopt another way: the smaller beam might be first placed in position, and when the cross was completed and set upright, they

[1] Babyl. *Sanh.* 43a; Prov. xxxi. 6.

could fasten or nail the condemned man to it.[1]

The cross not being high it was easy to proceed thus; and it is probable that the latter method was most often adopted. They must have nailed the hands while the feet of the victim, who was standing upright, were still upon the ground; then they lifted the feet a little and fastened them to the lower part of the upright. When fixed in position and nailed, they barely escaped the ground.

When the feet were nailed the knees were naturally bent outward, and in order that the weight of the body should not tear the hands, the former was supported by a billet of wood upon which the victim was half seated.

The three crucifixions were very easily and quickly performed. The soldiers no doubt accomplished their horrible task mechanically, with the calm indifference of those who often do the same thing. Jesus uttered no complaint; he kept perfect silence. Yet in the early part of his suffering he said, and the words are cer-

[1] Jos. *D. B. J.* 7, 6, 4; Cicero, *Verr.* 5, 66.

tainly authentic, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"[1]

What he must have been suffering at this moment is indescribable. The wounds in his hands and feet were giving him acute and atrocious pain; the blood was trickling from them drop by drop to the ground. It is true that this hemorrhage was soon checked; but then a sort of numbness took possession of his limbs and a violent fever began to rage.

The *pannicularia*,[2] that is, the personal effects of the victims, the little that they left behind them, were given to the executioners. They shared among themselves the garments of Jesus, and drew lots for his seamless robe. All these small details, minutely related, presuppose an eye-witness. The Fourth Gospel states that St. John was there, as well as the mother of Jesus, who had the courage to be present at her son's execution, accompanied by the Galilean women; the presence of Simon the Cyrenian, who has already been mentioned, appears to be also most probable.

[1] Luke xxiii. 34.

[2] *Dig.* 47, 20; *De bonis damnat.* 6.

When all the preliminaries were completed, the soldiers seated themselves to watch their three victims;[1] jokes, puns, coarse insults rained upon the unhappy sufferers. Jesus especially was the butt of the most odious witticisms.

What were his dying words? Here again the Gospels are not entirely in accord, but nowhere are their divergences more natural. The last words of celebrated criminals are almost never preserved in authentic form; usually the accounts of the most trustworthy eye-witnesses differ sensibly. The reason is perfectly simple: the emotion, the agitation, the grief of the friends who are present prevent their hearing clearly or remembering accurately; and on the other hand the hatred of enemies often distorts these last farewells.

The fact is that we do not know precisely what were the last words of Jesus. His recommendation of his mother to St. John and of St. John to his mother is most touching; and as it is found in a Gospel which is directly connected with the apostle John we have no reason for

[1] Matt. xxvii. 36. Cf. Petr. *Satyr.* 111, 112.

doubting its authenticity. According to Luke, one of the malefactors was converted,[1] but Matthew and Mark positively state that the thieves insulted Jesus with the others.

Little by little darkness came over his soul; he felt himself sinking in an abyss of despair, and passed through a moral agony so black that even the face of his Father was veiled from him. The certainty that had never left him for a single instant, sustaining him in all his trials, the assurance that he was one with the Father and the Father with him, that he was accomplishing his will, doing his work, that he was going down into only such depths as his Father bade him pass through, and suffering only what the Father willed that he should suffer, — this certainty vanished, and he cried out, "My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?"[2] The horror and terror that such a

[1] Luke xxiii. 39–43.

[2] Matt. xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 34. There is no room to doubt the authenticity of this utterance. Who indeed could have invented it? Preserved in its Aramaic form in our Greek Gospels we have it just as Jesus uttered it, just as the witnesses heard it: "*Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?*"

cry indicates are unspeakable. Jesus believed himself to be forsaken by his Father!

It has been questioned whether he was not simply repeating the Twenty-second Psalm to fortify himself, but without strength to go beyond the first verse. One would be glad to believe it, but the hypothesis of despair is too plausible not to be made.

Why, then, did he utter such a cry? Because he had expected a miracle that did not take place? Did he doubt his mission, the love of the Father; he who had never doubted either? These questions remain unanswered, and we can only bow with pitying and anguished heart before the intensity of moral suffering which such words reveal, adding to them no word, and sincerely sorry for those who have the courage to discuss this dying cry, and draw dogmatic conclusions from it.

One of the tortures of the infernal agony of the cross was a burning thirst which devoured the sufferer. The desire to drink became with Jesus so intolerable that he exclaimed, "I thirst!"[1] A soldier,

[1] John xix. 28.

more humane than the others, went to the leather bottle of *posca*[1] which he ordinarily used. It had a sponge; he dipped it in the liquid, and sticking it on the end of a reed he lifted it to the lips of Jesus, who could thus drink a little.[2]

His despairing cry had lasted only for the space of a lightning flash; he had regained all his serenity. But the life of the body was rapidly becoming exhausted; death was approaching with long strides; and in his increasing physical weakness his moral strength was continually renewed. The conviction that he was fulfilling his mission again became entirely his, and there on the cross he recovered that sense of perfect communion with his Father which made up to him for all the rest.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon; six hours, therefore, that the victims had been hanging on the cross, and their

[1] *Posca* was the name of a mixture of water and vinegar which the Roman soldiers always had with them on their expeditions, among which were included capital executions. (Spart. *Vie d'Adrien X.*; Vulcatius Gallicanus, *Vie d'Avidius Cassius*, 5.)

[2] Matt. xxvii. 48; Mark xv. 36; Luke xxiii. 36; John xix. 28–30.

sufferings had hardly begun, for men often lived several days in this appalling condition. Men of good constitution died only of hunger, and in general death was produced simply by the arrested circulation resulting from the abnormal position of the body; but Jesus succumbed to sudden death. All at once he uttered a terrible cry; a blood-vessel had broken in his heart,[1] his head was seen to fall upon his breast; he was dead.

What had been his last words? According to Luke's Gospel,[2] he had said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." According to another text,[3] he had cried, "It is finished." We shall not choose between these two utterances; both of them are true. Jesus had indeed finished everything; his work was complete and perfect, lacking nothing. And it was certainly to his Father that, dying, he committed the care of his soul, that soul that never, save perhaps for a single

[1] The hypothesis of the rupture of a blood-vessel is the only one that explains how death could have occurred so suddenly and so promptly.

[2] Luke xxiii. 46.

[3] John xix. 30. Matthew and Mark say only, "He cried with a loud voice."

moment, had ceased to be profoundly united to his Father.

The two malefactors were, however, still full of life, and their lives would apparently have been considerably prolonged, perhaps for several days, if the day had not been Friday. At six o'clock the Sabbath would begin, and the Law[1] forbade that a body, living or dead, should remain upon the cross on the day of rest.

The Romans had no motive for refusing to respect this custom. It was necessary, then, to finish the wretches who still lived, make certain that Jesus was really dead, and hasten to take down the bodies from the crosses.

To put an end to the thieves, they were subjected to a second torture, — the breaking of the legs (*crurifragium*). In general this was not done; when it was desired to give the finishing stroke to one crucified, they struck him on the head, or they pierced him through the heart, to bring on immediate death. The *crurifragium* was a special torture, distinct from that of the

[1] Deut. xxi. 22, 23; Josh. viii. 29, x. 26 f.; Jos. *D. B. J.* 4, 5, 12; Mishna, *Sanh.* vi. 9.

cross, and generally applied to slaves and prisoners of war; it was not necessarily mortal, but it here appears that it sufficed to cause the immediate death of the two malefactors, for their bodies were taken down from the cross before six o'clock and thrown into the common sewer, or some other shameful place destined for the burial of suicides.[1] This was the Jewish law. According to Roman law, the three bodies would have remained upon the crosses till they were eaten by birds of prey.[2]

When the soldier came to break the legs of Jesus he saw that this was useless, as he was already dead; still, for greater security, he gave him the true finishing stroke, piercing his side with a lance in the region of the heart.

What became of the body? As has been said, it could not remain upon the cross to be eaten by birds, because upon this point the Romans let the Jews have their own way. The latter would cer-

[1] Mishna, *Sanh.* vi. 9.

[2] Horace, *Epistles*, 1, 16, 48; Juvenal, 14, 77; Lucan, 6, 544; Plautus, *Miles Gl.* 2, 4, 19; Artemidorus, *Onir.* 2, 53; Pliny, 36, 24; Plutarch, *Life of Cleomenus*, 39; Petronius, *Sat.* 111, 112.

tainly have thrown the body of Jesus into the sewer with that of the other malefactors if they had been masters of it, for it was to their interest to make away even with his body; they would not really be done with this man until nothing was left of him, not even his corpse. If they gave it honorable burial, people would come to visit his tomb. Legends would very soon cluster around his sepulchre; and it is probable that Annas and Caiaphas were very greatly chagrined when they learned that the body of Jesus was not to be given over to them.

In fact the Roman law permitted and even commanded that the body of an executed man must be delivered to any one who claimed it;[1] and one of the unknown friends in Jerusalem (we have already met with several), a secret disciple, a certain Joseph Ha-ramathaïm,[2] begged the body from Pilate. It was the more readily accorded that he was a well-known personage, a member of the Sanhedrin, rich and esteemed. Nicodemus joined him. They

[1] Digest, xlviii. 24, *De cadaveribus punitorum.*

[2] Joseph of Arimathea. Matt. xxvii. 57; Mark xv. 43; Luke xxiii. 50; John xix. 38.

desired to embalm the body, not according to the Egyptian manner, for indefinite preservation, but after the Jewish fashion, which consisted simply in wrapping it around with small bandages with myrrh and aloes.

There was need of haste. It was drawing near to six o'clock, and if this hour arrived before all was finished, the Sabbath would be profaned. To complete their task before six o'clock, they resolved upon a provisional burial.[1] Joseph of Arimathea had lately prepared a tomb for himself in a garden belonging to him, only a few steps from Golgotha.

There was no time to lose. Nicodemus and he drew out the nails supporting the bleeding body, that it should not fall on being taken down; their pious hands washed and wiped the wounds before wrapping it in a winding-sheet which they had brought with them. Then they carried it away, followed by faithful friends, the Galilean women uttering the strident cries which were a necessity at funerals, however sincere and profound might be the grief. All was done most hastily; it

[1] John xix. 41, 42.

may be said that the burial too was hastened.

The tomb of Joseph of Arimathea was a grotto forming a small chamber; in the farthest wall an alcove had been hewn out and surmounted by an arch.

The men extended the body in this alcove and closed the entrance with a stone which was set in a groove, and so large that it was very difficult to handle it.

The Sabbath began at the very moment when all was finished, and those who had taken part in it dispersed, after having promised one another to return early Sunday morning to finish the still incomplete embalming.

Every one returned home, hurrying to light the Sabbath lamp. Around the sepulchre where no one remained night gradually came down, and the great silence of the tomb set in.

The doleful day was over, everything had returned to its usual order; things had resumed their course, if indeed they had been interrupted.

The three deaths which have just been described were three casual executions, such as had occurred the day before, such

as would be repeated on the morrow; and the entire Jewish people with perfect tranquillity prepared for the Sabbath rest, which would be all the more profound that it fell upon one of the days of the Feast.

CHAPTER XI

THE RESURRECTION NARRATIVES

The Gospel Narratives

UP to this point, except in minor details, we have made no critical studies. We have almost exclusively confined ourselves to setting forth historic certainties. Side by side with this narrative of events we have had an essential purpose, — to learn what was going on in the soul of Jesus, what was the order of his thoughts before and during his ministry. This work is completed in the very imperfect degree in which it may be done.

At present a study of an entirely different order is imposed upon us; a minute study which the reader may consider as an appendix to our work,[1] but a necessary appendix, since we have to treat of questions such as this: What took place dur-

[1] See Preface, p. xi.

ing the days that followed the burial of Jesus, and what are we to understand by what is called his Resurrection?

Let us begin with a very important preliminary remark: the question of these chapters is of an historic fact. We admit that its consequences are immense; they have taken on colossal proportions. But in itself there is simply a fact of the past to establish (if indeed it is possible to establish it), nothing more and nothing less; and to establish it according to the ordinary methods of historic criticism as our age has brought them to light and made them potent. Our means of knowledge, our requirements and our processes of meeting these requirements, have been made new within a hundred years. Well, let us make use of these processes, let us put forward these requirements and study this fact of history, weighing the pros and cons without the least *a priori*.

It is the more necessary to say this, because in no case has *a priori* been given freer course than in this question of the resurrection of Jesus. "This must have happened. It is altogether impossible that that did not take place." Let us leave

these ways of proceeding, carefully guarding against them. It is truly strange that men continually assume to know what must have taken place instead of seeking for what actually did take place; and that they always conclude that facts must have been thus and so, instead of simply discovering what they were.

On Sunday morning, April 9th of the year 30 (if our method of reckoning is correct), a little before sunrise, the tomb was empty. It was the women who had been present at the burial who made known the disappearance of the body. They had come, as had been agreed, as soon as the Sabbath was ended, to proceed with a sort of embalming more complete than that of Friday evening, which had necessarily been insufficient.

Their desire to embalm a body already in the tomb appears to have been in no sense extraordinary. It seems, therefore, that for persons who died on Friday evenings, at an hour when it was impossible to give the usual care to the body without profaning the Sabbath, the necessary attentions were given on Sunday morning at the tomb itself. It needed only to roll

away the stone which closed the entrance to the tomb, and that done, any one might go freely into the sepulchre, which was a grotto entered on the level, and perform the usual embalming.

The women came, then, at the earliest dawn, to the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea. They were asking themselves who would roll away the stone for them, when from afar they perceived that the stone was no longer in its place; it had been rolled on one side, and the door of the sepulchre was yawning. They drew near, trembling with emotion and grief; they leaned over and peered in; no one was there — Jesus' body was not there. What had become of it? Some one had taken away their Master's body, and they knew not where he had laid it.[1]

This is the first fact that stands out, certain, authentic, undeniable, from all the narratives. There is not the slightest doubt that the tomb was empty on the morning of the third day after Jesus' death; that is, the first day of the week.

What had happened?

To this question the four Gospel narra-

[1] John xx. 2.

tives are unanimous in replying that Jesus had returned to life, and that, having arisen from the dead, he appeared to a certain number of persons on the third day and the days following; but all four differ, and are even contradictory, as to the details.

If we read attentively, we see that the Gospels are the echoes of two entirely distinct traditions, which no doubt became confounded in the end, but which were at first distinct and separately developed. According to one, the appearances of Jesus were all in Galilee; this is the Galilean tradition. According to the other, they took place in Jerusalem and its immediate environs; this is the Judean or Jerusalemite tradition.

Let us first study the Galilean tradition. It is reproduced in its oldest form in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew. The latest form of this tradition and the last stage of its development known to us is set forth in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, discovered a few years ago.

This is the story of the resurrection given by this tradition; it attempts to describe the very act. It says that in the

night between Saturday and Sunday the soldiers who were guarding the tomb heard a great voice from heaven. They raised their eyes; the heavens were opened, and two shining angels descended from heaven and came to the sepulchre. The stone which served as a door rolled away of itself. The two angels entered the tomb, and the soldiers made haste to awaken their captain and the elders of the Jews, who were with them watching the tomb but who had fallen asleep. While they were telling them what they had seen, behold three men came forth from the tomb, — that is, Christ, supported by the two angels; the cross on which he had suffered followed them. The angels were so tall that their heads touched the sky. Jesus was taller still, and his head passed through the sky. A voice was heard from heaven, saying, "Hast thou preached to them who are asleep?" and a reply came from the cross, saying, "Yes." The whole company ran to report the fact to Pilate. Meanwhile, at daybreak, Mary Magdalene came to the tomb, with several other women, to embalm the body. An angel appeared to them, announced to

them the resurrection, and they fled, affrighted. The angel had said to them, "He is risen, and gone thither from whence he was sent," that is, to heaven. It is seen that the Pseudo-Peter placed the ascension immediately after the coming forth from the tomb. This, however, did not prevent the return of the Risen One to earth; for the lost conclusion of the Gospel of Peter apparently included the narrative of an appearance on the shore of the Lake of Tiberias.

According to Mark,[1] this is what took place: Three women, whom he names, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, went into the tomb, saw there an angel, who announced to them the resurrection of Jesus, and bade them inform Peter and the other apostles, telling them that the Risen Jesus would precede them into Galilee, where they should see him as he had said. Terrified, the women fled, and said nothing to any one.

The close of the Gospel of Mark is lost, but it is evident that what followed, no more than the Gospel of Peter, related the

[1] xvi. 1–8.

appearances in Judea, for the angel bade the apostles "go to Galilee."[1]

According to Matthew, two women only, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, came "to see" the sepulchre. An angel descended from heaven, rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre, and sat upon it; he spoke to the women in nearly the same words as the angel in Mark's Gospel, the latter being, however, within the sepulchre: "Jesus is arisen; he goes before the apostles into Galilee, there they shall see him." The women, at once trembling and joyful, far from saying nothing, as Mark affirms, ran to carry the news to the apostles. Then Jesus appeared to them, and he also told them that it was in Galilee that the apostles should see him. The eleven therefore repaired to Galilee, "unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them" (though there had not before been any allusion to a mountain). Jesus appeared to them, and — a curious detail — some disciples doubted, though they saw him before them, alive. Jesus, however, spoke to them, commanding them to preach the gospel to all nations.

[1] Mark xvi. 7.

He instituted baptism, giving its ecclesiastical formula, "Into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," and he declared to his disciples that he would remain with them even to the end of the world.

Thus closes the Gospel of Matthew, without the slightest allusion to the ascension into heaven. This Gospel, notwithstanding the brief apparition of Jesus near the tomb, belongs then also to the Galilean tradition. According to it, Jesus showed himself to his disciples only once,[1] upon a mountain in Galilee.

According to these narratives of the Galilean tradition, the Risen Jesus, notwithstanding the interview mentioned in Matthew xxviii. 9,[2] appeared only in Galilee. More than this, it was not on the third day that he showed himself to his disciples; it was at least a week after the crucifixion that Peter and the other apostles saw Jesus.

Finally, these were true apparitions,

[1] Matt. xxviii. 16.

[2] This interview, in fact, confirms our assertion, since Jesus himself there says that it is in Galilee that he will show himself to his apostles (verse 10).

the apparitions of a being who no longer dwells on earth; they are in no sense a continuation of the life of Rabbi Jesus, a life interrupted by death for a few hours or a few days, to be resumed afterward such as it had been before. No; Jesus appears and disappears. According to the Gospel of Peter, he even had a celestial body, and a very extraordinary one. The Galilean tradition then tells of four apparitions.

It is evident that stories of this sort would lead the incredulous to say: That which appeared to you was simply a phantom without life or reality. Believers would reply: Not at all; it was indeed the body which we knew that appeared to us; and the proof is that the body is no longer in the tomb. The sepulchre has been officially recognized by the authorities as empty, and that after they had sealed the door and placed a guard before it. Besides, adds the Pseudo-Peter, the Roman soldiers and the Jews saw the Ascension of the Risen One; he went up into heaven before their eyes, supported by angels, with his cross following him.

In Jerusalem and Judea the resurrection of Jesus was otherwise described.

This is how Luke narrates it: Several women (he names three of them, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary the mother of James, but there were others) come to the tomb and find it empty. Two angels tell them of the resurrection, but without informing them where they are to see the Risen Lord. They run to tell the news to the eleven apostles, who do not believe them.

That very evening Jesus appears to two disciples who are going to Emmaus. He shows himself to them, using a sort of dissimulation. A divine power further hinders these disciples from recognizing him. He was no doubt recognizable, but a higher will, which could be none other than that of God, held their eyes. As for Jesus, he acts as though he were some one else; he appears not to know why the disciples are sad, and asks what is the matter with them, although he knows perfectly well. He makes as if he would go beyond the village of Emmaus. Finally he makes himself known to them, and at that very moment he disappears, the vision vanishes. The two disciples at once return to Jerusalem, and there are told

that Peter has seen him also. Then suddenly Jesus appears. The disciples believe that they are seeing a disembodied spirit; but Jesus shows them his wounds and begins to eat. Then he leads them to Bethany (all this, apparently, the same evening, Sunday, the first day of the week) and disappears, being parted from them in a final manner, while in the act of blessing them.

Luke thus offers us another series of appearances. According to him there were none in Galilee, and the scenes of the resurrection took place in Jerusalem or its immediate neighborhood. It was upon the Mount of Olives, near Bethany, that Jesus was seen for the last time; from there he arose into heaven,[1] the same day according to the Gospel; forty days later the same author says, in so many words, in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

Such, then, are the two independent and distinct traditions of the resurrection of Jesus Christ held in the early days.

The Fourth Gospel unites them. It

[1] Acts i. 12.

tells how Mary Magdalene went alone to the tomb on the morning of the third day; it was empty. She ran to apprise Peter and the other disciple whom Jesus loved. They came, made certain that the body of Jesus was no longer there, and went away. Mary remained alone; two angels appeared to her, and finally Jesus himself, who would not permit himself to be touched. On the evening of that day he appeared, the eleven apostles being assembled, then disappeared. A week later they saw him again, and this time he permitted Thomas to touch him. A supplementary chapter, added to the Gospel at a later time, shows us Jesus taking a meal with his disciples on the shore of Lake Tiberias, but it was difficult to recognize him. He spoke to Peter three times, putting to him the question, "Lovest thou me?" Then he reinstated him in his place as apostle.

Thus the Fourth Gospel unites the two currents, the Galilean and the Judean, but without losing one in the other. We are approaching the time when the two traditions were definitively placed side by side to form a continuous narrative. But this juxtaposition was artificial; it was

made after the event. The two traditions were developed each in its own surroundings.

The reader has already perceived the great, the fundamental difference between them. According to the Galilean tradition the Risen One had but a fugitive life, and made only brief appearances. According to the Jerusalem tradition, on the contrary, the life of the Risen One was the continuation pure and simple of his earthly life. The latter, interrupted during the space of three times twelve hours, recommenced such as it had left off. The Resurrection days are days supplementary to those of the earthly ministry of Jesus, and must be added to it. This ministry was continued. No doubt there are two points of difference. Jesus was not constantly present and was not always recognizable. He could be instantaneously transported from place to place; he appeared and disappeared; but he had the very body which had been put in the tomb, the body which died upon the cross and became a corpse. This body, this physical organism, had become alive again; it ate and drank and walked. The Risen Jesus

had interviews with his apostles just as before.

It is interesting to observe that the Jerusalemite form of the tradition became ever more affirmative in the sense of the materialization of the body of Jesus. It is easy to follow the progress which it has made in this respect. When the apostles saw Jesus the first time they thought they saw a spirit.[1] But Jesus spoke to them; he replied in advance to objections, and finally he ate fish and honey before them. This continuation of the Master's life with his friends lasted precisely forty days. The figure is fixed, and at his last appearance the material body of Jesus was detached from earth and rose toward heaven, toward the abode of God, who is overhead in the blue sky, above the clouds. From that day they never again saw Jesus. He is no longer corporeally present on the earth. He had been up to this time; but from that time forth he has been seated in heaven at the right hand of God, and he will not reappear until the Last Judgment.

Furthermore, during the forty supple-

[1] Luke xxiv. 37.

mentary days Jesus was seen only by his disciples and friends; that is, by those who believed in him.

Such are the gospel stories of the resurrection of Jesus.

CHAPTER XII

THE RESURRECTION NARRATIVES

The Narrative of Saint Paul

THE reader has no doubt observed that up to this point we have not yet heard a single eye-witness of the resurrection of Jesus. Not one of the four Evangelists says: "I have seen the Risen One; he appeared unto me." On the contrary, all four bring only indirect witness, — the statement of others and not their own experience.

It is especially interesting to note that we have not the direct testimony of a single one of the eleven apostles, and so far as St. John is concerned, if he is the author of the Fourth Gospel, this is most extraordinary. If this book was written by him, if it is entirely from his hand, it is most strange that he does not say in speaking of the Risen Jesus, as he did of

Jesus crucified, "He who saw bare witness, and he knows that he saith true." This would have been Johannean language. But these words, applied to the Christ as returned to life, are not found in the Gospel by St. John. He, like the others, knows of the resurrection of Jesus only by hearsay, and gives us only the testimony of others, especially of Mary Magdalene. It is true that he relates the appearances to the Eleven, those of the first two Sundays, and being one of the Eleven he was present. But why does he not say "I was there"? He remains impersonal, and expresses himself as if he were speaking of other persons than himself.[1]

Have we then the testimony of no single direct witness of the resurrection of Jesus?

We have: we possess the writings of a man who says, I have seen him. These writings are certainly authentic, and this man is the greatest among all the disciples of Jesus Christ. We refer to the testimony

[1] This remark confirms us in the opinion that John himself did not write the Fourth Gospel. Besides, the book, while continually speaking of an eye-witness, never claims to have been written by him. See *Jesus Christ during his Ministry*, Introduction, p. xxvii.

of St. Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians.

In this letter Paul writes in so many words, κἀμοὶ ὤφθη: "To me also he appeared."[1] Let us study this testimony and ascertain its value.

In the passage in which he thus speaks St. Paul relates not merely the appearance with which he had been favored, but all the others, at least those with which he was acquainted, and gives a fifth narrative of the resurrection of Jesus, widely different from those of the four Gospels, and much older than theirs.

In this narrative Paul contradicts the Gospels, and especially the Synoptics, before they were written. Between them and Paul, since we must choose, there is no room for a moment's hesitation. Paul wrote in the year 57. Not only are his statements much earlier than those of the Synoptics, they are also earlier than the development which the traditions that became fixed in the Gospels finally received. Paul is a direct witness. The Synoptics simply repeat what they have heard from one or another; Paul tells what he has seen.

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 8.

The following are the points on which the Evangelists and Paul differ. According to Paul, the appearances covered a considerable time; they might still occur, and they occurred anywhere; while Matthew, Mark, and Luke declare that the appearances have come to an end, and that when they did occur it was at a given place and no other. They localize them, placing them only where Jesus had been in life.

These two differences are not the only ones; the list of appearances as given by St. Paul hardly accords with what the Evangelists say, and it is of great importance. He gives the complete catalogue, in their order, of the appearances, as it was accepted in Jerusalem during his lifetime. We cannot go back of this.

Paul was acquainted with the Jerusalem tradition, and this is what he says: Jesus appeared (they were apparitions, ὤφθη) — 1, to Peter; 2, to the Twelve; 3, to more than five hundred brethren; 4, to James; 5, to all the apostles (that is, no doubt, to the Twelve and to others bearing the name of apostles, like Barnabas);[1] 6, "to me, as to one born out of due time."[2]

[1] Acts xiv. 14 *passim*. [2] 1 Cor. xv. 8.

Six appearances, then. The first observation to make is that Paul saw no difference between the appearances to the Twelve and the one with which he had been favored;[1] quite the contrary, he treats them all as precisely the same.

Let us also observe that of the six appearances of which Paul speaks, the first and second are mentioned in the Third Gospel; but the third, that to five hundred brethren, is nowhere mentioned, nor is that to James. More than this, Paul omits the appearance to the women at the tomb, notably that to Mary Magdalene; neither does he refer to the appearance upon a mountain in Galilee, nor to that to the disciples of Emmaus.

Let us more closely examine the appearance to Paul; it is evidently that which took place on the road to Damascus, and which, in the Epistle to the Galatians,[2] he calls a revelation of the Son "in him." In none of the narratives of Paul's conver-

[1] In another Epistle, not less certainly authentic than the First to the Corinthians, his Epistle to the Galatians (i. 15, 16), Paul thus defines the appearance vouchsafed to him: "It pleased God to reveal his Son in me."

[2] Gal. i. 15.

sion which we find in the Acts of the Apostles[1] is it said that he saw Jesus; he was dazzled, he was blinded, and he heard a voice. Nor had he touched the Being who appeared to him; but he was convinced that it was Jesus himself, that he was there and speaking to him.

Here there is a witness who fulfils the conditions generally required of a witness; his attestation is contained in an undisputed letter; and not only does he affirm the Resurrection like the others, but he writes in so many words, "He appeared to me" (*κἀμοὶ ὤφθη*).

The appearance with which he was favored presents peculiar characteristics which the others do not present, and such testimony as this is very different from all that we have hitherto collected. All the others, as has been observed, are, without a single exception, merely hearsays. Mary Magdalene did not write the story of the appearance of which she was a witness; nor did the disciples of Emmaus, nor any one of the Eleven. It is most surprising that Peter in his Epistle does not say, like St. Paul, "He appeared to me." The ap-

[1] There are three, chapters ix., xxii., xxvi.

pearance to Peter, the first day, was held in the primitive Church to be of capital importance; but he himself does not say so. Nor does John say anything, as we have already observed. We have, then, only the word of Paul; but we have this word, and Paul is not a mere casual witness; his word has more value than would have, if we possessed it, the testimony of a formerly demonized woman like Mary Magdalene, though written by her own hand. M. Renan made faith in the resurrection to rest upon the testimony of Mary Magdalene, and this gave him ground for writing, "The enthusiasm of a hysterical woman has given a Risen God to the world." It is not solely to Mary Magdalene, it is also and above all to St. Paul, that we owe the Risen Christ.

St. Paul's conviction was wholly based upon the perfectly clear recollection which he cherished of all that took place upon the road to Damascus. Now the conversion of Saul of Tarsus, transformed into St. Paul, is an evident historic fact, and Paul was convinced that on that day he had heard the Lord; that he had been in communication with Jesus Christ; that

Jesus had spoken to him, uttering words in the Hebrew tongue. Such is the testimony of the great apostle, and such were the motives for his belief in the resurrection of Jesus.

Let us study more closely this testimony of St. Paul. Like all the Jews, he believed in the possibility of a resurrection. The Jews did not clearly hold the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, according to which death is deliverance from the body which fetters the spiritual part of one's being; without which the spirit can live, and indeed without which it is more happily circumstanced. The Jews understood little or nothing of this doctrine, according to which man is composed of two more or less inimical substances. In their view the world was to be transformed, the death of the body done away with, and the kingdom of God thus set up.

St. Paul had been brought up in these ideas; he not only admitted a future resurrection, but believed that partial or individual resurrections took place now and again. He found it in no sense "incredible that God should raise the dead." [1]

[1] Acts xxvi. 8.

Thus belief in the resurrection of a dead man met in his mind (and for that matter, in the mind of any one of his time) no such objection as it would everywhere meet at the present day; it was a miracle, but at that period miracles occurred every day.

St. Paul wrote, "If the dead rise not, Jesus Christ is not risen; and if Jesus Christ is not risen, your faith is vain."[1] He takes his stand, then, on the fact that there are dead men who arise from the dead. That has happened. In Paul's view Jesus is not the only risen one, and he did not arise simply because he is the Son of God, the Messiah: he arose because there are dead who rise, Jesus among others, and like the others.

A general resurrection was expected. It was a widely held Pharisaic doctrine, and Paul was a Pharisee. At the Palingenesis all the dead would rise. And the Palingenesis was imminent; it was therefore perfectly simple and natural that even at that present time the bodies of some of the saints should be resuscitated. They were the precursors, the heralds

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 13, 14, 17, etc.

of the great renovation, the catastrophe which would make all things new, the eternal dream of man.

How did Paul picture to himself the Risen Jesus? He believed that he had had an exterior vision, but it had only stunned him; he had, however, heard a voice, and at the same time he had had an interior vision, a drama had taken place in his soul. He was convinced that Jesus had really appeared to him. But it was not the material body of Jesus of Nazareth that had been shown him; God had revealed Jesus Christ "in him." He says this in the most explicit manner and without opening a possibility of attributing another meaning to the term of which he makes use.[1] In this regard Paul had the true faith in the resurrection, as we shall presently set it forth.

He tells clearly how he pictured to himself the Risen Jesus.[2] In his mind the future resurrection of the dead and the resurrection of Jesus Christ are identical. But the future final resurrection

[1] Gal. i. 15. It pleased God to reveal his Son in me (*τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί*).

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 1–58, and especially 35 ff. But it is necessary to read the entire chapter.

will not be that of the body that was put into the ground, any more than the ear of wheat is the very seed that was sown. That seed is dead, it has decayed in the ground and disappeared. The resurrection will be the birth of a new body, superior to the organism that formerly lived, and very different from it; it will come forth from it, will be born of it, as the plant is born of the seed.

Thus is it with Jesus: he arose on the third day, but it was not the flesh that formerly lived that returned to life; it was a spiritual and celestial body coming forth from the material and earthly body, which died upon the cross.

Paul very distinctly denies that the Risen Jesus had the same body as the Crucified Jesus. His resurrection body has neither flesh nor blood; it is incorruptible. "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." [1] Paul knows nothing of a Risen One eating and drinking; he no longer knows Christ "according to the flesh," [2] nor does he know anything of the guard stationed at the tomb by the Jews. He belongs neither to the

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 50. [2] 2 Cor. v. 16.

Jerusalemite nor to the Galilean tradition. He wrote before tradition had been formed; he is earlier than any tradition.

Furthermore, as he puts the appearance to himself upon the same rank as those to the Twelve, he knows nothing of an ascension on the fortieth day, putting an end to the appearances, after which there were none, because, materially speaking, Jesus had returned into heaven. In St. Paul's idea the appearances were not discontinued at the end of forty days, for there had been one much later, and, as has been observed, he nowhere says that others may not occur.

In his mind the body of the Risen Christ was made of the substance of his πνεῦμα; it is in no respect material, and the only word which expresses the resurrection is ὤφθη (he appeared, he was seen). There was not then, in St. Paul's mind, a continuation of Jesus' earthly life, interrupted for thirty-six hours, then resumed, and ending on the fortieth day. No, the earthly life of Jesus ended, in the apostle's view, upon the cross; and the second life began on the third day, the life of the "glorified" Christ, which

will never be modified nor interrupted by anything which is eternal. "Christ being risen from the dead dieth no more." [1]

Such is St. Paul's belief, and such is the earliest, the oldest, the authentic form of belief in the resurrection, — that accepted by the apostle.

St. Paul's statements aid us in choosing between the two Gospel traditions of which we have spoken above; for it is certain that between these two traditions we must make a choice. I appeal to the good faith of my readers. There is no middle ground; either the Risen Jesus had the body which had been alive and had died upon the cross, or he had the glorified body of which St. Paul speaks.

Very well; of the two traditions, that which gives to Jesus the very body of his earthly life, which makes the life of the Risen Lord a sort of forty-day supplement of his ministry, closing it by the material ascension of his physical organism, rising up to the abode of God, which is above us in the blue sky; and that which makes of the resurrection of Jesus a series of appearances, indeterminate in

[1] Rom. vi. 9.

duration and having no material aspect, though entirely real, and, as we say, objective, it is certainly the latter which we must choose; and St. Paul aids us to choose; so to speak, he makes the choice for us. To the impartial historian, in fact, Paul's doctrine is the true one. It is the oldest, and the only one which forms a part of a direct and authentic testimony, and it was after the apostle's time that tradition gave to Jesus a material and tangible body.

And now, what are the facts gained for history?

The first is this: the life of Jesus had come to a close. He was no longer in the world. His reappearances, whatever may have been their nature, were brief, rapid, fleeting interviews, which show a supra-terrestrial existence beyond the tomb.

2. The tomb was empty on the morning of the third day.

3. It was from this third day forward that Jesus appeared.[1] There were appear-

[1] The appearances began on the third day; but some persons had another opinion, and believed that Jesus remained in the tomb three full days. We find in the Gospels some traces of this belief (Matt. xii. 40, John

ances during a period of undetermined length, and they took place where Jesus had lived, in Judea and Galilee. Some saw him in Judea, others in Galilee. He appeared only to those who knew that the tomb was empty; but beyond this common starting-point each tradition developed independently of the other. These appearances were special to those for whom they were designed; they alone were aware of them.

4. The body of the Risen Lord was a spiritual body, according to the expression of St. Paul. Later it was found hard to reconcile the two traditions; one was laid over the other, and they were not to be reconciled. Between the narratives according to which the body of the Risen Lord was a material organism which could partake of food, which bore the print of the nails, which could be touched, and the narratives according to which it was instantaneously transported from place to place, passed through closed doors, and

ii. 19, Mark ix. 31, according to the oldest and most authoritative text). The opinion which prevailed, that of St. Paul, placed the resurrection on the third day, that is, Sunday (Luke ix. 22, xxiv. 21).

was impalpable, there is an irreconcilable contradiction. To admit this contradiction is for every reader of the Gospel narratives a duty of the most elementary good faith.

5. Paul believed in the resurrection, not only because it was affirmed by the other apostles, but because he was persuaded that Jesus had appeared to him and spoken to him.

6. We may admit as historically proved the development of the primitive tradition, in the sense of an increasing materialization of the idea of the nature of the body of the Risen Lord.

Such are the historic conclusions to which the impartial study of the various narratives infallibly leads.

CHAPTER XIII

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RESURRECTION

LET us now attempt to perceive what we ought to understand by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.

The disciples did see appearances. The Being which they saw had a body. But this body was immaterial; this is affirmed by St. Paul. St. Paul's affirmation is confirmed by the pains taken by the Evangelists to convince their readers that the body of the Risen Lord was material. Several features of the accounts show, indeed, that it was immaterial and intangible. The Evangelists undoubtedly believed in a tangible reality; but the first idea of the witnesses was that they had before them a spirit,[1] and this idea prevailed for a very long time. Clement of Alexandria relates that, according to a tradition still accepted in his time, St.

[1] Luke xxiv. 37.

John thrust his hand into the body of Jesus, and it passed through it without difficulty.[1] According to Jerome[2] the Gospel of the Nazarenes related that Jesus appeared to Peter and the other apostles, after having appeared to James, and said to them, "Touch me, and assure yourselves that I am not a *dæmonium incorporale*" (an incorporeal spirit).

The appearance was of Jesus, but he was not recognized; Mary Magdalene, the disciples of Emmaus, the apostles in Galilee,[3] were not at the first moment aware that it was Jesus who stood before them. The statement made, based upon the accounts of those who narrated the appearances, is that they did not at once know who was there. It was not until after a certain time that they recognized Jesus.

The moment of recognition was usually at a meal-time (the disciples of Emmaus, the meal when Jesus ate fish and honeycomb, the dinner of John xxi.). This idea certainly grew out of the fact that one of the memories most profoundly

[1] *Adumbrat.* ad 1 John i. 1. [2] *De vir ill.* 2.
[3] John xxi.

graven upon the hearts of the disciples[1] was that of the meals they had been used to take with their Master, and especially the moment of the breaking of bread and the giving of thanks.

It had always been a blessed hour, that meal-time of the little community, the little spiritual family, when they all sat around the same table, when they sang the old psalms, when they dipped into the same dish and drank from the same cup; therefore from the earliest days of the primitive Church the fraternal repasts so much enjoyed by the Jews were in great honor.

It happened further that as soon as they recognized Jesus he disappeared; that the moment when the vision vanished was precisely that in which some one said, "It is he!" So long as the vision lasted, either they knew not who it was,[2] or they were asking one another if it was he, — yes or no.[3]

From these facts it results with the strongest evidence that there is not the

[1] We have already had occasion to make this remark; see above, p. 118.

[2] Luke xxiv. 13–35. [3] John xxi. 12.

least relation between the resurrection of Jesus and other resurrections narrated in the Bible; for example, that of Lazarus. According to the text the resurrection of Lazarus was the return to physical and organic life of a corpse in which decomposition had already begun. The body of Lazarus came to life again. Lazarus resumed the existence of a few days previous, in his house, with his sisters; began again to feed his body and to live the daily material life, precisely as if his illness, instead of ending in death, had ended in recovery. His organism resumed all its physiological functions, and at a later time Lazarus died a second time, and this time, not to live again. If the laws of France had been operative in Judea, the risen Lazarus might have demanded the annulling of his act of decease.

It is entirely otherwise with the Risen Christ, of whom Paul said, "He dieth no more;"[1] and with the documents which we possess it is absolutely impossible to establish any likeness between the return of Lazarus to life and the return of Jesus Christ to life.

[1] Rom. vi. 9.

We have now arrived at the following historic certainties: —

1. There were appearances of Jesus, sometimes uncertain and unrecognizable, and always followed by disappearances.

2. He had a body called "glorified" or "spiritual;" and we are absolutely ignorant of what that is, — we only know that it is not the earthly body.

3. The Risen Christ dies no more; he has then no organic life, and his body performs no physiological function whatever.

4. God revealed his Son *in* St. Paul. In the apostle's experience, therefore, to the exterior vision which dazzled his sight there was a corresponding inner revelation of which his soul was the theatre.

5. None of Jesus' adversaries saw him after his death; his disciples alone saw him.

6. The succession of the appearances and their number cannot be perfectly established.

Certain details remain to be elucidated; thus, the contradictions in the narratives, speaking sometimes of a material body, sometimes of an immaterial body, are in

the highest degree natural. The apostles took divers methods of explaining a fact which in itself was certain. Their faith expressed itself in images: each had his own, and each believed that this figure corresponded with a reality. But as they contradict one another we ought not to seek to restore them to unity.

One says, the Risen Lord had an organic body which partook of food. Another says, a spiritual body which passed through closed doors; and sometimes the same writer says both.

One of them believes that the resurrection and ascension took place the same day, and that both were one identical act; according to this evangelist, with Jesus to arise from the dead was to ascend into heaven. Another says, the two acts were separated by an interval of forty days. One said, the Lord is the Spirit;[1] the other, he has a body which bears the mark of the nails. We have shown that there are several traditions, that is, several explanations, and nothing is so pitiful as the effects of certain conservatives to harmonize all these differences, to bring

[1] 2 Cor. iii. 17.

them all into unity. While denying plenary inspiration, they put all these narratives in the same rank; all are true, authentic, infallible, and therefore they harmonize. We believe that we show more respect for the Scriptures in not trying to bring into agreement things that do not agree, and in not giving forced harmonizations. It is hard to believe how many petty manipulations, forced texts, one-sided explanations, we find among the conservatives; arguments of which in the secret of their souls they cannot but feel the weakness and nothingness, and which, taken all in all, are miserable failures.

But if we can sum up all the contradictions in the narratives, and show how very natural they are, there nevertheless remain many insoluble questions; for example, How were the appearances produced? When did they cease? Under what influences? How did belief in the ascension into heaven grow up? We do not know.

What is certain is that the entire life of Jesus is to be explained only by an intervention of God. It is a miracle, if by

that we understand, not an impossible abrogation of the laws of nature, but a creative act of the sovereign God, unexplained and still inexplicable. It is a miracle of that sort (and this is the only sort of miracle that is possible, and in consequence authentic), it is, we say, a miracle of that sort which is hidden in the mystery of his birth; it is another of this same kind which is hidden in the mystery of his resurrection. Miracles of this kind are not to be observed by scientific methods, and the disciples describe them as they can, by poetic images and popular symbols, to which, according to the ideas of their time, they give a historic reality; but the fact itself, the miraculous fact, subsists behind figurative explanations and concrete symbols.

This one thing remains certain, — the life beyond the tomb is not at all a part of the earthly life: it is a superior existence, truly supernatural. Its appearances are always sudden, and last only a brief time, even in the most realistic traditions. The Risen Lord did not live in continuous and normal relations with the world in which he had formerly lived.

Among the questions which remain insoluble is this: What became of the body of the Crucified Jesus?

On the one hand, the Risen Jesus had not the same body as during his earthly life; and on the other hand, his earthly body, his corpse, was not in the tomb on the third day. What became of the body of the Crucified One?

To answer this question is impossible for everyone. It is impossible for those who deny the resurrection; it is not less so for those who believe that there were visions of a glorified body; it is not less so for those who, contrary to the assertion of St. Paul, affirm a return to life of the physical organism of Jesus; for that organism, the body which ate, walked, slept, in fact lived the earthly life, beginning again as that of the risen Lazarus did, did not, as he did, die a second time, to be buried again. We know very well what became of the body of Lazarus after his second death — it was buried; but what became of that of Jesus?

Shall we be told, "It was that which went up into heaven on Ascension Day"? No, we shall not be told so, because that

cannot have been a truly material body which went up into heaven; it was not "flesh and blood," it was a "glorified" body, as we say. And thus, to the questions, "What became of the crucified body? Where was it when the tomb was found empty on the morning of the third day?" —a reply is as impossible for the most conservative believers as for unbelievers, for the partisans as for the opponents of the resurrection.

It does not suffice to say, the material body was transformed into a spiritual body; for this has no meaning. Matter is matter, and remains matter. Everything is changed, as we well know, but nothing is lost, and matter can only be transformed into matter.

No satisfactory solution has therefore been found by any one.[1]

[1] Some one will perhaps reply: "The material body *could* be transformed into a spiritual body, for nothing is impossible with God; and besides, who shall say what is matter and what is spirit? Why could not the material body, the corpse of Jesus of Nazareth, have become the glorified body of the eternal Christ?" Agreed: it *might* have so become. To the supposition of this abstract possibility and this appeal to the almighty power of God it is evident that we have no reply to make.

The most widely differing conjectures have been offered to explain the disappearance of the body. It has been asked — singular conjecture — if the Sanhedrin might not have taken measures to conceal the body of Jesus. Although dead, this man still distressed them. His tomb, as we have shown,[1] might become a place of pilgrimage. People would certainly visit it, thought Annas and Caiaphas. Some women had already spoken of coming back to embalm the body. The disciples would take advantage of this well-known and respected sepulchre to excite and promote an uprising of the people. It was necessary, then, in the minds of these men that Jesus should be entirely done away with. Even his death did not satisfy them; they desired the destruction of his body, its total extinction.

Therefore the Sanhedrin made away with his body on Saturday night, as soon as the Sabbath was ended, and had it carried somewhere else, hidden, burned, perhaps, saying, We must have done even with his corpse. They secured the aid of the Roman soldiers who were guarding

[1] See above, p. 182 f.

the tomb, paying them money. Hence the story related by Matthew, of paying the soldiers to say nothing. Later, when the apostles declared that the resurrection had taken place, the Sanhedrin could not contradict it, nor offer to produce the corpse; they were therefore silent, because otherwise it would have been necessary to confess what they had done. According to a passage in Tertullian,[1] certain Jews said that the gardener had made away with the body, because he feared that the throng of comers and goers would injure his vegetables. They admitted then that the body might have been carried away by others than the apostles.

The hiding of the body by the Sanhedrin is certainly not beyond the limits of possibility, but I beg the reader to remark that this possibility is entirely abstract. Nothing can be cited to support it; not an act, not a text, not an allusion, however fleeting, appears to give a degree of value to this hypothesis. It is gratuitous in the strongest sense of the word. More than that, it is in the highest degree improbable;

[1] *De Spectaculis.*

for it would have been singularly maladroit of the high priest to take the trouble, of his own motion, to furnish the apostles a reason for believing in the resurrection. And to conclude, as we shall show in the following pages, it is impossible that the disappearance of Jesus' body in such a manner, even if it took place, should explain the belief in the resurrection.

Besides, it is possible to imagine such an absurdity as old Annas becoming the true founder of Christianity. We should in that case owe him very abundant thanks. By putting Jesus to death by cravenly demanding that Pilate should crucify him, he had already given to the world a God dying for its sins and expiating them upon the cross; now he does better still; by effecting the disappearance of the body, by letting loose his rage upon the sorrowful Man of Nazareth, the hatred of this unscrupulous priest has given to the world a Risen God! Jesus is therefore only one of our brothers in suffering, and the despairing cry of Mary Magdalene will remain through all the centuries the expression of the truth: "They have

taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him!"

No; the wonderful results which followed the crucifixion are to be explained only by actual appearances of the Crucified One; by a real resurrection, therefore. And as to the disappearance of the body, we can easily imagine that St. Paul must have considered this question as entirely idle. No doubt he knew that the tomb had been found empty on the morning of the third day, and he believed that the incorruptible body of Jesus was derived from his corruptible body as the plant is derived from some sort of seed; but he was little concerned with the material and earthly body of Jesus. It had been precisely nothing other than a seed, and to those who might have asked him what had become of it he would have replied, "Unthinking man! that which thou sowest takes not on life unless it first die! Jesus the Christ according to the flesh died and was buried; but I know not the Christ according to the flesh; and the third day the Christ according to the Spirit arose from the dead. The

carnal body died and the spiritual body took on life." Such was, without any doubt, the doctrine of St. Paul; such is also our own, and such is the truth about the resurrection.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CERTAINTY OF THE RESURRECTION

WE are here at the very heart of the subject, and both impartiality and scientific probity oblige us to sound it to the bottom.

For the mere historian the actual state of the question is this: On the third day after the death of Jesus and during the following days, for a space of about six weeks, something happened which cannot be attributed to the imposture of the disciples; namely, a certain number of persons saw Jesus Christ, and reported sayings of his. Furthermore, St. Paul, in an undoubted letter, states that he also saw and heard him some time, perhaps several years, later.

Are we authorized by the mental state of those who had these visions to deem them purely ecstatic? The disappearance

of the body was no doubt the initial fact, the generative incident, of the belief in a return of the Crucified Lord to life; but does its disappearance suffice to account for the visions?

Could not indeed the apostles and the women, seeing the tomb empty, have imagined the return of Jesus to life, persuaded themselves that Jesus was risen, and then had visions created by their imagination? To this question we may reply that not one of the disciples expected Jesus to return to life. Their despair, their desire to embalm the body, the stone that they rolled to the entrance of the cave, are sufficient proofs of this.

But does this answer suffice? Let us transport ourselves to the first century; let us picture to ourselves not men of to-day, but Jews of that time, and these Jews disciples of Jesus, standing before their Master's empty tomb. Is it not natural that the thought should take possession of their hearts, especially since it was Jesus that was dead, "Perhaps his body is come to life again!" For we must not forget with what facility people of those times welcomed the report of a

resurrection. The return of a corpse to life, even of a corpse in process of decomposition, seemed a very possible thing. In our days, to the report of such an event, every one, no matter who, would unquestionably oppose an immediate negation, without asking for proof, or even consenting to an attempt to bring proof. Such things do not happen; the refusal to believe in such a thing in our epoch is imperative, but formerly it was not so. Therefore when the rumor of the resurrection of Jesus began to be spread abroad, it at once met persons who put faith in it. A few indeed said, it is a story; but they did not long say so, they only asked to be allowed to believe it.

No doubt even then a resurrection was a very extraordinary miracle, the most extraordinary of all miracles, but it was in no sense impossible. Sheol was less rigorously closed for the Jews than the tomb is for us. In speaking of St. Paul and the Pharisaic beliefs of his time we said that the expectation of a general resurrection made men anticipate the time, in the case of certain great personages. People said, They are returned to

life in advance, before the great day. Antipas said of Jesus Christ, "It is the Baptist arisen from the dead."[1] The people had taken Jesus to be "Jeremiah or one of the prophets" returned to life.[2] Certain saints were raised from the dead at the death of Jesus.[3] The Apocalypse speaks of the resurrection of the witnesses of Jesus.[4] A resurrection from the dead was then always possible; and if it is pointed out that we have not for the first day a single eye-witness, that John himself (assuming that it was the Apostle John who wrote the Fourth Gospel with his own hand) saw nothing but the empty tomb, was this sight not enough to lead some one, no matter who, who had the idea of a resurrection, to at once admit it as possible, and very soon after, as certain? And as for this first idea, was not the view of the empty tomb enough to suggest it?

Let us add to this that the religious necessity of a resurrection was imperative; he *must* have risen again. God was bound to give this proof of the Messiah-

[1] Mark vi. 14.
[2] Matt. xvi. 14.
[3] Matt. xxvii. 52.
[4] Rev. xi. 3-12.

ship of Jesus. We have said that at this epoch a miracle was the sign of a direct mission. The apologetic proof drawn from miracles has no proving force in our day, but it had enormous force in the first century.[1] Everything was proved by miracles. Paul reminds the Corinthians that to prove to them that he was indeed an apostle, he had performed miracles among them, and had never wearied of performing them, renewing this demonstration with untiring kindness and patience.[2] Therefore that God should raise up Jesus and give this proof of his Messiahship was in the order of things.

Finally, is not the testimony of Paul himself subject to caution? Did not Paul also have an ecstatic vision on the road to Damascus? Was he not subject to ecstasies? Might not an ecstasy also explain the over-excitement of Mary Magdalene after the prostration of those first days, of Peter, of all the others, affected by the contagion? What one saw and heard they would all very soon see and

[1] 1 Cor. i. 22, ii. 4, 5; 2 Cor. xii. 12; 1 Thess. i. 5; 2 Thess. ii. 9; Gal. iii. 5; Rom. xv. 18, 19.

[2] 2 Cor. xii. 12, 13.

hear. Does not the miracle of Pentecost make evident that they were ecstatics? Cases of this kind are known to history. After the unjust martyrdom of Savonarola, after the assassination of Thomas à Becket, their disciples could not believe them to be forever departed, could not resign themselves to their overthrow, expected to see them again in life.

Observations of this sort are certainly very interesting, and such analogies as these are most alluring. Notwithstanding which, we believe that the scrupulous and impartial historian requires other demonstrations than mere curious resemblances before accepting such a thing. He must take into consideration all the facts. Now we have these ascertained facts. The vision of Paul on the road to Damascus is expressly distinguished by himself from his moments of ecstasy, and from this vision he emerged a Christian; that is to say, changed, transformed, converted. Let the exterior fact which took place on the road to Damascus be explained by ecstasy, by bewilderment, by a lightning stroke, we must nevertheless admit the interior fact which took place in the soul

of St. Paul. Saul was thrown to the ground a Pharisee, and uprose a Christian, because "it pleased God to reveal his Son in him."[1] We may perhaps blot out other facts of history; but what fact is more authentic than the conversion of St. Paul? The impartial, just, unprejudiced critic will never blot out this fact.

And this story of Paul is only a reproduction (by one detail) of the great fact that Christianity was born at that moment. The Christian Church was born of the certitude of the Resurrection. It is the foundation on which the apostles built. Thomas à Becket and Savonarola brought no new idea into the world when they reappeared to their disciples. Jesus, when he reappeared, brought the Church into the world; his cause has triumphed because he has arisen from the dead. Otherwise it would behoove us to say, His cause triumphed because the Sanhedrin stole away his body.

To him who believes that God works in history the resurrection of Jesus is an indisputable fact. Let us compare the first Good Friday on the one side and

[1] Gal. i. 15.

the preaching of the first Pentecost on the other; what took place between those two days? The former is marked by a defeat which seems entirely final; the latter is the magnificent dawn of the history of the Church. Between the two something certainly transpired which transformed the apostles; we call this event the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.[1]

A fraud on the part of the disciples is as absurd a supposition as the mere vision of a phantom created by their own imaginations is impossible.

The Resurrection did take place. It brought about the birth of a new world. Jesus is alive; he is alive indeed; he will die no more. This brilliant sun still enlightens the world; the third day after the crucifixion a new horizon was unfolded, a new world was begun.

God has intervened to give us in the course of human generations him whose pure and holy life would be inexplicable without this intervention. He has likewise intervened by a sovereign act to

[1] We do not speak of the theory of a syncope, followed by apparent death, occurring during the crucifixion; it has no value whatever.

give us a Risen Christ, without whom the development of Christianity in history would certainly not have occurred.

All trace of the ignominy of Good Friday has disappeared; and not only has it disappeared, but ignominy itself has been changed into glory, defeat into victory, and the salvation of the world has been wrought by the cross.

Let it not be forgotten the Christian consciousness was then born; it is not simply that the disciples believed in the Resurrection, — the Resurrection transformed them. It cannot be said they thought they saw Jesus but were mistaken, for the transformation which took place in them cannot be denied, and the transformation consists in this: it is no more they who live, but Jesus Christ who lives in them.[1]

To use the language of the schools, the Resurrection of Jesus was at once objective and subjective. Objective, for "it pleased God" to do it: it was not the apostles who created the vision of the Risen Lord, it was God who raised his Son. Subjective, because it was "in them," in his apostles, that it pleased God to reveal his

[1] Gal. ii. 20.

Risen Son. The passage, Galatians i. 15, is of inexorable clearness in this respect.

The Resurrection of Jesus in the souls of his apostles is the certain proof of his Resurrection in history.

The Resurrection of Jesus was a creative act of the living God, of the Father in whom he had believed without a shadow of wavering all his days, and into whose hands, in breathing out his last breath, he had committed his spirit.

CHAPTER XV

FAITH IN THE RESURRECTION

WE have not in the least undertaken in the preceding chapters, and in the long discussions upon which we have entered weighing the pros and cons, to prove the resurrection of Jesus Christ historically, to establish by trustworthy statements the miracle of the return of Jesus to life. If this had been our design it would have been very chimerical, and we should never have succeeded in it.

A miracle is not to be demonstrated; it does not even vouch for its own miraculous character. History can vouch for only the facts by which the miracle was manifested. When it goes back to its causes it cannot grasp them; it remains face to face with manifestations that are not to be explained.

Why? because this intangible cause of miracle, if miracle there is, can be only

its first cause, and the first cause never shows itself to us. To the mere man of learning God remains a hidden God. He may verify phenomena, he may discover facts; if he goes back to their causes, he finds an interwoven chain of second causes. The chain is endless, and the first cause never appears. No one can ever say, "I have seen God; he appeared to my eyes," or "He is proved to my reason." The well-known utterance of Laplace, declaring that in order to describe the celestial mechanism there was no need of the hypothesis of God, is not in the least an atheistic proposition. The direct action of God is the supernatural. The believer testifies to the supernatural, but he testifies to it by faith and not by sight. If he prays God to heal a sick person, and the sick person gets well, he will say that God healed him, that his prayer has been answered, and he will call this answer an act of God, a miracle; but the learned man will perhaps discover the second cause of the recovery, will find it in such or such a potent medicament, administered by a clever physician at the opportune moment. The discoveries of the learned man do not

rob him of his faith. They simply tell him what means God is using to answer his prayer and heal the sick person; and whether or not he knows how God works, whether or not he divines the secret of God, he believes neither more nor less that God was there and that he was working. For him, God is not an unknown God.

It follows that the supernatural is not to be demonstrated; it is affirmed by faith. The resurrection of Jesus is not to be explained, but that matters little; if it could be explained it would be none the less a miracle to the Christian, and the greatest of miracles.

The historian, who speaks only as a learned man and not as a believer, asks what took place on the third day. The apostles saw Jesus Christ; he appeared to them. Was he then truly arisen from the dead? To this question the historian confines himself to saying, I do not know; I do not understand; the data for solving the problem are wanting. Renan one day declared that for him to admit a miracle it would suffice that it was sufficiently attested. Let a body of learned men, physicians, members of the Institute, attest

a resurrection from the dead, and it must be admitted, said Renan. Well, no; even that would not suffice; Renan is mistaken when he says that whenever a commission of the Institute shall speak, declaring that a resurrection has really taken place, we must admit that supernatural events take place. Never will one of our contemporaries, learned or otherwise, admit a supernatural event. He will admit nothing more than an unexplained, but not supernatural, event. He will say, The explanation escapes me, but there is one. I am not in presence of a miracle.

If the attempted explanations are erroneous, untenable (fraud, illusion, lethargy, etc.), it is because the right one has not been found. But there is an explanation, and it is natural. As for the believer, he utters the word *miracle*, and says God was there. He says it by faith and not by knowledge; by moral, not by sensible evidence. For him the apostles really saw and heard their Master; he really appeared to them.

There is then proof of the resurrection of Jesus, the religious proof; it is the most precious of all, or rather it is the

only one that is worth anything, and it has the double advantage of being within the reach of the most humble, and of being irrefutable.

The true believer has no need of a demonstration of the resurrection of Jesus Christ by historic considerations, which are always refutable; he knows with an inward certainty that his Saviour has vanquished death, and he says, "The Lord is risen indeed."[1] The believer who uses this language has faith in the Resurrection, and he alone has this faith. Others may believe it; he has faith. Now one may believe in the resurrection and not be a Christian. One may find the demonstration of the historic fact to be sufficient and not be a Christian; and contrariwise, one may not be able to resolve a single one of the questions raised by the Resurrection, may not be able to say what became of the body, not be able to say in what consisted the return of the Crucified One to life, nineteen hundred years ago, the third day after he was placed in the tomb; in a word, one may not be able to meet the objections to the resurrection,

[1] Luke xxiv. 34.

and yet be a Christian, because he has *faith* in the resurrection of Jesus.

For he alone is a Christian who has faith in the resurrection of Jesus. The true believer has experienced his Saviour's return to life; he knows and he believes, and his faith no man can take away from him.

Let us explain.

To demonstrate the reality of the Crucified Lord's return to life, to demonstrate that there is sufficient documentary evidence for the historic fact, is to demonstrate that a historic event one day took place; and to admit the authenticity of this event is a matter of science and not of faith.[1]

Historic belief has no religious value, and such a belief in this case is not the same thing as faith in the eternally living Jesus Christ.

Religious faith, the faith that justifies and saves, cannot depend upon a historic fact which may be submitted to a scientific

[1] We refer to the remarkable words of M. Lachelier, cited in our second volume (p. 94). "An historic event, extraordinary or not, cannot be an object of faith, precisely because it is historic, and by this fact is an object of knowledge."

examination, which can be arrived at only by study, by the critical sense and the intelligence. The results of criticism are various and uncertain. As M. Lachelier has lately reminded us, "A historic event cannot be an object of faith, precisely because it is historic, and by this fact is an object of knowledge." What we have already asked,[1] What could they do who cannot study and who yet desire to believe, — the laborer, the working-man, the man of no culture, — if, in order to have faith in the Risen Christ they were obliged to weigh arguments, discuss opinions, test proofs? What would happen then? Having a desire to believe in the resurrection and being unable to pursue the necessary studies, an uncultured man would admit the historic fact, not because he has proved it (for he is incapable of the study necessary to prove it), but because he has need of it. He decides in advance that it must have taken place. The resurrection of Jesus forces itself upon him *a priori*. Thus men create the facts of history before being taught by history that they have taken place.

[1] "Jesus Christ during his Ministry," p. 255, note.

We have already directed attention to the strangeness of the fact that men thus decide what must have taken place.

Concerning the resurrection of Jesus, if a verification of the historic fact is possible, it is, in any case, a somewhat long process, and when it is completed it remains an intellectual belief. Even the "he appeared unto me" (κἀμοὶ ὤφθη) of St. Paul, which comes so straight to us, is subject to criticism; for though the First Epistle to the Corinthians is certainly from Paul, it is still necessary to prove its authenticity, and to this end to carry on scientific research. If, then, belief in the historic fact of the resurrection of Jesus were necessary to a religious faith in the Christ who ever lives and reigns in his Church, it would be for learned men to decide whether or not Christians ought to believe in the resurrection of Jesus. Believers would then be divided into two classes: first, the learned themselves, whose intellectual researches would lead them to believe; second, the immense multitude of the ignorant and unlearned, who would believe blindly on the affirmation of the learned.

But thanks be to God, things are not thus. Every Christian, the most humble with the most learned, may have personal experience of the life of his Saviour. This personal experience cannot depend upon historic research. Biblical criticism is taking away those supports which our fathers deemed indispensable; woe unto us if we think ourselves lost because we have been robbed of these poor crutches! We can walk alone because we are not alone; our Master is with us; he is truly arisen from the dead.

From what precedes, it results that one may doubt the historic fact of the Resurrection, that one may find even the witness of Paul insufficient; that with regard to a question of pure historic knowledge in the simple verification of a material fact, one may be of those who are inclined to say No, and still be a Christian, a true disciple of Jesus. Let us suppose a person who believes in Jesus Christ, who has faith in him, who calls him God manifest in the flesh, who has found in him his Saviour and believes in the redemption from his sins effected upon the cross, but who doubts the reality of the resurrection, — shall we say that this person is not a Christian?

We have said, let us suppose; but this supposition is a reality for a large number of the members of Christian churches. We are all of our own time; and in our time it is more difficult than it was in the time of St. Paul to admit the historic fact.

Well, let us be reassured; those who say that Christianity stands or falls according as the Resurrection is received or rejected are certainly mistaken if they are speaking of the historic fact. We have just shown, and we cannot too much insist upon a truth so elementary, that the faith that saves does not depend upon scientific belief. Jesus himself clearly showed this when he did not condemn Thomas for asking to see in order to believe. After his example, let us not condemn those who doubt on this point, and who, notwithstanding, love Jesus and believe in him. One is not master of this sort of doubt, which bears upon facts of the past. To doubt a fact because one cannot honestly admit it, because material proof of it appears insufficient, this is not religious incredulity.[1]

[1] We appropriate here the remarkable consideration on this subject of Professor Eugène Ménégoz. See *Un doute consolant, Revue Chrétienne*, 1893.

He who thus doubts is not necessarily a man without faith; he is a man who does not give credence to a historic fact. The true doubter is he who will not turn from sin, will not humble himself and be converted; he is the hardened sinner who is voluntarily hardened because he will not break with evil.

We have shown how remarkable and convincing is St. Paul's "he appeared unto me" (κἀμοὶ ὤφθη); for if there is any trustworthy witness he certainly is one, and the joyful and confident certainty of Paul explains his whole life. Jesus is alive; this is the word that illumines a great number of his sayings: "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me."[1] "To live is Christ."[2] "Christ being arisen dieth no more."[3] "Have I not seen the Lord,"[4] etc.

But, finally, some one may say, That is St. Paul, it is not I. St. Paul's certainty does not fully satisfy me. I would be able myself to say "I have seen him," and to add, "I have touched him."

Let us observe that those who make

[1] Gal. ii. 20.
[2] Phil. i. 21.
[3] Rom. vi. 9.
[4] 1 Cor. ix. 1.

such demands are most often very unfortunate. They would be very glad, they would prefer, not to make them; they suffer in being obliged to ask to see and touch; they suffer in not being entirely sure that Paul was not mistaken!

We know that there are those who blame such persons; there are more fortunate believers who have not these needs, to whom the resurrection of Jesus appears perfectly simple, and who condemn those who doubt, accusing them as if they were guilty sinners.

They are certainly in error. We strongly desire to convince our readers that this is not a question of historic proof. Some have an intellectual belief of a fact; the proofs given for it are for them convincing, their intellects are satisfied. Others cannot reach this intellectual certainty; their minds are so constituted that the proofs brought forward do not satisfy them. Blessed without doubt are they who admit the historic fact without having seen the Risen Lord. But more blessed still are they who have a true faith in the Risen One; who know that his life is continued in the Christian Church and in

their own souls because they have a personal experience of the resurrection of their Saviour! These see and touch him in the true sense of the word. It is true that they have neither sensible nor intellectual evidence; but they have moral evidence, a thousand times more precious.

He who has this faith feels no need of going to the bottom of the historic question. He feels, he experiences, that faith in the resurrection of Jesus Christ and the place that this faith occupies in the life of the Christian are a matter of inward personal experience, and that such a faith has nothing to gain by the verification of a historic fact.

Most idle, therefore, are the interminable discussions which can end in nothing, regarding what took place on the third day after the crucifixion; questions like those which we lately examined: What became of the body? Of what nature were the visions of the apostles? How are we to reconcile the divergences of the five accounts, — divergences which indicate divers sorts of more or less contradictory traditions? What are we to understand by this? What are we to understand by

that? These endless questions and discussions are more injurious than useful to faith; and in any case they are entirely useless, since a historic fact cannot be an object of faith.

What, for instance, is the use of asking whether the visions were exterior or interior? One fact is certain, that the disciples heard their Master's voice. Who could have invented the dialogue of Jesus with St. Peter,[1] the words addressed to Thomas,[2] to Mary Magdalene?[3] But did the disciples hear these words with the material bodily ear, perceiving articulate sounds striking upon the ear, or did they hear them sounding in the depths of their hearts, in those sacred hours when it was no more they who lived, but Jesus Christ who lived in them?[4] The answer matters little; one fact is no less supernatural than the other. The essential thing is that they really heard their Master. The true believer can and does say: "I know not whether it was the bodily ear or the ear of the soul which received those divine sounds; but one thing I do know well,

[1] John xxi. 15–19. [2] John xx. 24–29.
[3] John xx. 17. [4] Gal. ii. 20.

that Jesus Christ spoke to Mary Magdalene, to Thomas, to St. Peter; that he spoke to St. Paul on the road to Damascus; that he was still speaking to him when he said 'My grace is sufficient for thee;'[1] that he spoke to Pascal on the memorable and blessed night when he said to him, 'Thou wouldst not have sought me if thou hadst not already found me;' and that he has spoken to myself."

The true believer has no need of historic proofs; he has intuitions of heart and conscience, and those eternal reasons which lie in the depths of his soul and which the abstract reason knows not of. He is a believer, because a group of facts concerning Jesus arouse in him impressions and feelings of which he is not master: his appearance in history at a precise moment, just the right one; his person, of a compelling greatness; his return to life, affirmed by so many witnesses; so many facts, insufficient for the historian who will be only a historian, but sufficient for the man himself, for him who lets himself be moved in the inward parts, as our fathers used to express it, who listens only to the utter-

[1] 2 Cor. xii. 9.

ance of his own soul: God has spoken, God has revealed himself; he has visited the earth; I cannot not believe, I cannot otherwise, as Luther said.

The believer obeys an irresistible moral pressure. The object of his faith is not perhaps scientifically proven, but it suffices him that no scientific proofs can be opposed to his faith.

Nevertheless, we admit with utmost frankness, the apologetic proof drawn from the reality of the resurrection of Jesus is broken down, as indeed are all external proofs, that is, those drawn from miracle.

It is remarkable indeed that everybody is of this opinion. The most strongly believing orthodox pastors never, except on Easter Day, take their stand upon the proof afforded by the resurrection of Jesus Christ to demonstrate to their hearers the truth of the gospel.

They still do it on Easter Day. They reason in this way: "Christ is risen, therefore Christianity is true; our faith is not vain, and we also shall arise from the dead." But never during the rest of the year do the most orthodox preachers (with

possible but certainly very rare exceptions) draw their arguments from the resurrection of Jesus Christ. It would seem to them, not without reason, that to make the demonstration of the future life rest upon the resurrection of Jesus, which has to be proved, would be to undertake to light up a dark room by opening a window into the night.

More than this, when a pastor conducts a funeral service, never in his sermon does the most orthodox (always with very rare exceptions) make use of the resurrection of Jesus Christ to console his hearers and give them the hope of again meeting their departed friends. He says to them, "It is not possible that all is ended; your hearts and your consciences both protest, and Jesus Christ promises eternal life in his teaching; he said, 'Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.'[1] Faith in the justice of God and in his love require a future life," etc. He says nothing else. And in the liturgical prayers of the funeral service we shall hardly find two or three passages that make brief allusion to the

[1] Matt. v. 6.

resurrection of Jesus Christ.[1] The fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians is read at the cemetery, but only the close of the chapter where no mention is made of the resurrection of Jesus, and the prayer that follows makes no allusion to the Risen Jesus Christ. It simply speaks of "the promises full of consolation which God has caused us to hear in his blood."

The apologetic value of the resurrection of Jesus Christ is then recognized to be *nil* even by the most conservative. Why is this? Because if Christianity is not an opinion but a life, it is still more true to say this of the resurrection of Jesus. It is not an opinion, but a life; it is not simply belief in a fact of history, it is above all a life in communion with the eternal Christ. The resurrection of Jesus is less a material fact to be historically proved, than a spiritual reality to be apprehended by faith. "Blessed are they which have not seen and yet have believed!"[2]

[1] See the late liturgies put forth by the Reformed Church [of France]; that of Bersier; that of the official Synod.

[2] John xx. 29.

CONCLUSION

MY work is done; and at the moment of laying down the pen, I feel profoundly that which every historian of Jesus has experienced after having attempted to describe him, to narrate his life, to read in his soul, — a profound discouragement. And if this is the case, if I am discontented with myself and my work, I dare not flatter myself that I shall satisfy those who may become acquainted with it.

I had had a vision; the vision subsists behind the imperfect representation of it which I have sketched. I knew from the first that the disappointment which I am feeling was inevitable; I expected it; it has continually reappeared in the course of history for every one who has tried to fix the picture of Jesus. But the disappointment is useful, it is necessary; I may even say it is blessed and beneficent, for by it we comprehend and measure the incomparable grandeur of the Son of man.

I have, however, almost always confined myself to setting forth facts, ascertained facts. I have not sought to explain Jesus, and I shall not attempt to do so in this concluding chapter. Explanations, more or less ideal, are inevitably vague and abstract. On the other hand, I have tried to sketch a figure which is very human, very much alive. I have desired to show, with as much accuracy as possible, the human reality of the life of Jesus.

It had seemed to me, and it still seems to me, that the Christ of history is much more edifying to know than the Christ of the Church. It is certain that the Christ who will save the modern world will not be the Christ of metaphysical formulas and more or less satisfactory dogmatics; it will be he the beating of whose heart we feel, whose hand finds ours in days of anguish and mourning; he who has passed through our struggles, our emotions, and our tears, and come out conqueror over doubt by faith and prayer!

I have tried to take the humanity of Jesus "seriously," as people say, having observed that everybody says that this

ought to be done, and no one does it. The three volumes which I bring to a close to-day are an attempt at a protest against the incorrigible docetism of our Christianity and our theology.

I thank those believers who have written to me as my first two volumes have appeared, to say, "You have edified us; you have shown us the Saviour as he must have been; you have brought him near to us, and we hope, by the same act have brought us nearer to him." I am told that other believers have been scandalized by reading what I have written. I am surprised and grieved to learn it; I ask myself how these persons picture Jesus Christ to themselves. Was he, or was he not, "tempted like us in all things yet without sin"?[1] Did he, or did he not, "learn obedience by the things which he suffered"?[2] Did he, or did he not, "empty himself" and "take the form of a man"?[3]

If I have succeeded in showing the error of those who oppose the divinity of Jesus to his humanity, and artlessly imagine that whatever one concedes to the latter

[1] Heb. iv. 15. [2] Heb. v. 8.
[3] Phil ii. 7.

one takes away from the former, I shall be amply repaid for my trouble.

It is the humanity of Christ that we need to exalt, for on it is based his true greatness. I have tried to speak of this greatness of Jesus; I have tried to bring it out into the light, and this is why I have attempted to paint his humanity in its true lineaments.

In this Conclusion I shall not return to the three questions which I first posited, and which form the general title of my three volumes. I imagine that they have gradually answered themselves in the course of my threefold story.

Of the *work* of Jesus, I have nothing more to say than I have said. If a Jewish sect became the Christian Church of all civilized peoples, this work was done after the time of Jesus. As to his own work, that which was the germ and starting-point of this sublime evolution, I have described it.

As for his *authority*, I have also explained myself, and in detail, in the chapter entitled The Requirements of Jesus.[1]

Still, some persons have not entirely

[1] "Jesus Christ during his Ministry," p. 238 ff.

understood me. I have said, "Jesus Christ does not ask us to believe like him; he asks us to believe in him." I have been reproached for this expression. I think it is because I have not succeeded in making my thought sufficiently clear. It seems necessary to return to it here and develop it; for it seems to me that whoever perfectly understands me cannot fail to agree with me.

Jesus did not present himself as a doctor, a scribe, teaching facts and ideas that neither the reason nor the conscience can grasp, or coming to communicate supernatural truths to the world. He came "to seek and to save those who are lost;"[1] that is, to modify our personal relations with God. Jesus *did* a work; he *acted;* and he asks of his disciples to act, to follow him, to renounce themselves; to believe, of course, but to believe with a faith which is also an act, an act of will, a union with him, and not with a faith which is nothing but an intellectual belief in words, in formulas, in doctrines. Jesus Christ saves; that is, he enfranchises souls, he feeds and strengthens them by

[1] Luke xix. 10.

sanctifying them. The "weary and heavy laden"[1] *experience* the power of the gospel and the authority of Jesus Christ.

In the mind of certain Christians revelation is the communication of facts and ideas which man could not discover by his own intelligence. Such Christians are in evident error. Revelation is a communication of the Spirit of God, which acts upon the conscience to sanctify and enlighten it. Therefore I can never succeed in understanding those pious and believing persons who refuse to accept the formula: man is saved by faith independently of beliefs.

A belief is an intellectual opinion, and an intellectual opinion cannot save. There are the two words, the word *faith* and the word *belief;* and since there are two words, it is apparent that there is some shade of difference in their signification. Was it not the pious Neander who said, "There is a faith which saves; there is not a dogmatic which saves." Well, we *fidéists*,[2] as

[1] Matt. xi. 28.

[2] *Fidéiste* is a word introduced into the French language by the school of thinkers headed by Auguste Sabatier, Ménégoz, and Stapfer, of the theological faculty of the University of Paris, to denote those who hold

we are called, say nothing else, and this truth is so limpid that it ought to be called a truth of La Palisse.[1]

Now Jesus never required of any one a dogmatic system, a creed of any sort. He was wiser than the Synods, with their poor little two-lined confessions of faith, — very short, as if they were afraid of confessions of faith, and feeling that they are committing an error would commit the smallest one possible.

To believe like Jesus Christ — who indeed could do it in our day? Jesus believed in demons, and we no longer believe in them. Formerly it used to be said, we must not reason with the Scriptures. That time is far past, and no one now says

the doctrine above formulated, — that a man is saved by faith without regard to doctrine. — TRANS.

[1] A self evident proposition. La Palisse was a doughty captain under Louis XII. Many songs celebrated his exploits; the author of the most popular of these, La Monnoye, quite inadvertently made the last two lines of each stanza consist of such propositions: "Fifteen minutes before his death he was still alive," "He never gave way to wrath except when he was angry," etc. The popular fancy, tickled with this conceit, kept on adding to this amusing ballad, which now contains an indefinite number of stanzas, all of this character. — TRANS.

even we must not reason with Jesus Christ; for every one reasons with him. Thus, no one takes literally sayings which he certainly took literally; for example, these: "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor."[1] "If a man forsake not all that he hath he cannot be my disciple."[2] "Sell that ye have and give alms."[3] "Give to him that asketh of thee,"[4] etc. We say, these words are to be taken figuratively, or "Jesus took them literally and not figuratively;" in other words, we reason with him.

But thanks be to God, times change, and customs with them. What Jesus could say and did say in his time, and what would be practical in his time, will not do for ours, and he would not say it to-day. This was the error of Francis of Assisi and the mendicant orders, to have thought that certain words of Jesus were applicable to all times and all conditions.

As for us, we are entirely at ease with these words, because Jesus Christ did not say that we were to think like him. He does not cast out those whose intelligence

[1] Matt. xix. 21. [2] Luke xiv. 33.
[3] Luke xii. 33, xi. 41. [4] Matt. v. 42; Luke vi. 30.

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doubts, those who do not hold his opinions and are not Jews, as he inevitably was, — those, for example, who do not hold his apocalyptic beliefs; but he does repel those who do not follow him, or rather those who themselves repel him, setting themselves apart from him. He who does not come to him and follow him places himself apart from him, according to his words, "Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out."[1]

Since Jesus Christ shared certain erroneous opinions of his time, — and no one can dispute that he did, — it necessarily follows that we make a choice in his sayings; there is no way to avoid it. Hence we accept, we declare authoritative, only what we *consent* to accept as such.

I know what people are saying; they say: "Then you do not believe in the authority of Jesus Christ; you yourself are your own authority. If you think yourself permitted to say, I accept this and not that, you are the authority; there is no alternative."

Nevertheless, this is a mistake; for it was not I who made Jesus Christ, I

[1] John vi. 37.

did not create him, invent him; he is there, he comes to me from without, I find him in history. My experience does not create the authority of Jesus Christ; but Jesus Christ enters into contact with me, and produces in me a moral crisis, that of conversion and faith. I take my place on his side; I believe in him, I obey him, I love him; his divine word becomes authoritative with me. It is not I who create the truth, but I make it mine by my experience of it.

If I am asked why I am a Christian, I reply that it is because of the impression Jesus Christ has made upon me. I do not believe in him because he performed miracles, nor even because he arose from the dead, but because he dominates me in the totality of his teaching, his person, his work, his entire manifestation.

But there is an inevitable intellectual element in religious experience, otherwise religion would become confused with a vague sentiment and an indecisive religiosity. As I have said, Jesus Christ modifies our relations with God. And this God is not the Becoming of Hegel nor the determinism of modern philosophers;

it is not the *fatum* of the ancients; it is the Father — Spirit, Will, and Love. To live in communion with the heavenly Father is to pray, and Jesus teaches us how to enter into relations with him by prayer. The Father hears the prayer of his child and answers it. Jesus teaches us also that we are sinners; he speaks of a new birth as necessary, of a conversion, and he shows us how we can be born again by repentance and faith in him who has conquered evil and saved us. In him I discover the normal relations of man with God, and thus his testimony as to the relations which we ought to maintain with God becomes my law, because he was in perfect relations with God. This is what I understand by the authority of Jesus Christ. It is surely his authority; it is not mine.

As to the very *person* of the Christ, I am more and more persuaded of the inanity of definitions and formulas. We have seen Jesus of Nazareth proclaiming himself as the Messiah foretold by the prophets, as him who was to prepare for the speedy establishment of the kingdom of God in Jerusalem and over the whole earth, say-

ing that men are to prepare for its coming by repentance, humility, and faith in the Son of the Father who is in heaven.

The Jews crucified him who desired thus to be their Saviour, and he, being entirely submissive to the will of the Father, understood that by a violent death he accomplished that work of salvation which he had hoped would be different, and which he would gladly have accomplished in some other way.

Even upon the cross (save for one short moment) he was sustained by confidence that the Father was with him, that he, the Son, was accomplishing the work that the Father had given him to do, and that he would return in the clouds, to found the Kingdom and judge the living and the dead.

And then what happened? Already in the time of the apostles a very curious union had been formed of Jewish Messianic beliefs and Platonic speculations, and Jesus, that Jesus of Nazareth who had lived and had been crucified twenty-five or thirty years earlier, became the personage whom St. Paul describes in some of his Epistles[1] the first-born of creation,

[1] Especially in the Epistle to the Colossians.

a divine agent who had produced everything, such a one as Justin Martyr later called a second God. Thus was the doctrine of the incarnation formed. Then came still other developments of the doctrine, — those of Fathers and Councils; they resolved the difficulties which are insoluble because they are contradictory, by setting them over against one another and making of them "mysteries" which must be believed.[1]

These were facts which only need to be stated and accepted, demonstrable evidence, historic evidence; and history is not to be argued. The Reformers accepted these doctrines and mysteries of the Roman Catholic Church, and there is, strictly speaking, no Protestant Christology. Protestantism has never had any other Christianity than that of the great councils; that is, Roman Catholic Christology. This is indeed the case with most of the dogmas of Catholicism anterior to the sixteenth century. Thus Protestants read the Apostles' Creed in their churches. It is a notorious inconsistency on the part of Christians who propose, as they say, to

[1] See "Jesus Christ before his Ministry," p. 156 f.

"restore Christianity to its primitive purity;" for they are the first to recognize that the Symbol called the Apostles' Creed owes its history only to a falsehood in its title, that it is the product of a painful elaboration not completed until the sixth century, and that it was long before it made good its claim to universal acceptance.

We must admit it: Protestantism is here singularly powerless by reason of its very principle. It is easy to say, let us go back to the sources, let us leave the metaphysics of the old theology, let us place ourselves on the moral and religious plane of the gospel. Where is this moral and religious plane? Where is the basis of a Protestant dogmatic? The word "gospel" is continually taken here in a singularly vague sense. There are differences between the Christological ideas of the Synoptics, those of the Fourth Gospel, and the metaphysical notions set forth in more than one Epistle.

These differences are evident. It is therefore necessary to choose, and to choose is to create individual opinions.

For my part, I am not surprised at this;

nor do I regret it. I am convinced that individualism of this sort is the wisest course, and the only one possible at the present time. Each believer in Protestantism makes his own Christology, because each believer represents the divinity of Jesus Christ in his own way, and it is not the way of his neighbor.

Let us recall to mind the grand saying of Jesus: "No man knoweth the Son but the Father."[1] I say on the authority of this utterance that it is impossible to define Jesus. He remains above and outside of all the subtilties, — I say more, of all the impossibilities of metaphysics, and by the word, "No one knoweth the Son but the Father,"[2] he retains an incomprehensibility which is one of the most certain signs of his divinity, and should make a part of all our adoration of him.

I add that the Christ in whom I believe, who has revealed his life to me, is the Redeeming Christ. When Jesus tells me that his blood was shed for the remission of sins, I believe him; not only because he said it, but still more because I have need of salvation, and because the work

[1] Matt. xi. 27. [2] Matt. xi. 27.

which he accomplishes responds to and corresponds with the desire of my soul.

Whatever theological explanation may be found as to the origin of sin and its nature, sin is a fact. But Jesus Christ was without sin, and he was at peace with his Father. He offers us peace; he leaves it with us, he gives it to us.[1] But shall we find it by the simple path of moral influence? Does contact with him awaken in our souls a sentiment of divine sonship comparable with his, and does it give us peace with God, perfect, unalterable peace, a peace never disturbed? No; that is impossible, for sin is in us; and sin is a barrier that separates us from God. To find repose, we must go to the foot of the cross of the Redeeming Christ.

There we must "die to sin" and "rise again," and begin a new life[2] beside the empty tomb of the eternally living Saviour.

I am convinced that the modern man, imbued with the scientific spirit of our time, who will sacrifice nothing that contemporary science gives him and which he with reason holds as a definitive con-

[1] John xiv. 27. [2] Rom. vi. 4.

quest, the modern man who looks on with admiring gratitude at the *magnum opus* of science and sees the immense and magnificent temple of the future arising from the earth all around him, — I say I am convinced that such a man could, and at the same time ought to, understand that science does not suffice to satisfy him, and never will satisfy any one. When he has arrived at this certainty, and it has left him disturbed and disquieted with the confusion of his thoughts and sentiments, he will find peace in pardon, and will find it nowhere else than there; and he will find pardon nowhere but in Redemption, for nowhere else is the succor proportioned to the distress of his soul.

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